University of Alberta

Gender, Acculturation, Ethnic Identity, and Parenting Stress Among South Asian Families

by

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Abstract

This study examined the role of gender in South Asian immigrant acculturation patterns and ethnic identity development, as well as predictors of parenting stress. Differences in gender role expectations among family members suggest possible discrepancies in acculturation preferences among males and females, and differential impacts of mothers' and fathers' roles in the cultural socialization of children. Transmission of the South Asian culture to children is a key parenting task, suggesting that parenting stress in the host society may be related to youths' ethnic identity development and parents' acculturation status.

Sixty parent-adolescent dyads completed questionnaires assessing acculturation, ethnic identity, and parenting stress. Adolescent girls reported stronger ties to their South Asian culture than boys and adolescents in mother-child dyads reported weaker ethnic identity than those in father-child pairs. Additionally, 41.00% of the variance in fathers' parenting stress was predicted by degree of acculturation and adolescent ethnic identity development.

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my parents, Nizar and Parviz Shariff, whose stories of struggle and hard work have inspired and motivated me to pursue my dreams with determination. I also dedicate this thesis to Faisal, for his unwavering support and wisdom. Above all, I am grateful to God for the many blessings in my life. As I walk the esteemed path of higher learning, I am continuously humbled by the influence of those who have guided me along the way.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

South Asians are the second largest and fastest growing immigrant group in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2001). They have a unique cultural value system characterized by a strong family orientation, an emphasis on interaction within one's cultural group or social caste, and enforcement of traditional customs, such as arranged marriage (Almeida, 1996; Assanand, Dias, Richardson, & Waxler-Morrison, 1990; Ibrahim, Ohnishi, & Sandhu, 1997). Their distinct way of life may make the cultural adaptation process in Canada challenging (Assanand et al.).

Canadian Multicultural Policy encourages immigrants to retain some of their unique cultural values and behaviours, while simultaneously expecting them to integrate into the host/mainstream culture (Maton, 1995), which is heavily influenced by Euro Canadian or Western influences. Existing research on South Asians suggests that family members' preferences for their heritage culture and for integration into Canadian culture may vary with their gender and generational status (parent versus adolescent) (Basit, 1997; Ghuman, 1994; Krishnan & Berry, 1992; Patel, Power, & Bhavnagri, 1996; Wakil, Siddique & Wakil, 1981). Furthermore, in the Canadian context where South Asian youth are exposed to competing cultural values and behaviours through peers and the host society school system, parents may perceive difficulties in the transmission of their cultural heritage to their offspring (Aycan & Kanugo, 1998; Dosanjh & Ghuman, 1998; Farver, Narang, & Bhadha, 2002). They may closely monitor their adolescents' levels of ethnic identity development and view it as a reflection of their parenting ability (Almeida, 1996; Segal, 1991).

The purpose of this master's thesis is to examine gender differences in acculturation and ethnic identity among South Asian families, as well as to examine predictors of parenting stress. This chapter will describe the South Asian population, their unique cultural values and traditions, immigration history, and national representation. It will also define the constructs of acculturation, ethnic identity, and parenting stress as they relate to the cultural transition process of South Asians in Canada.

South Asian Culture

The overarching term "South Asian" is used to describe a group of people of various religions and nationalities who have cultural origins in the Indian subcontinent (Assanand et al., 1990; Ibrahim et al., 1997). The South Asian countries primarily consist of Pakistan, India, Nepal, Tibet, Kashmir, Burma, and Sri Lanka. South Asians also originate from Fiji and East Africa (Assanand et al.; Ibrahim et al.). Numerous languages are spoken in each of these countries aside from the national languages, including provincial dialects. For example, while Urdu is the national language in Pakistan, four other regional languages are also spoken (Pashto, Punjabi, Sindhi, and Baluchi) (Ibrahim et al.). Aside from differences in language, each region of these countries consists of specific subcultures with various traditional practices, values, and beliefs characteristic of that area or geographic locale (Ibrahim et al.). While the majority of South Asians across these countries practice the Hindu religion, there are also large Muslim and Sikh minorities, as well as small numbers of Zoroastrians, Jains, and Christians (Almeida, 1996; Ibrahim et al.).

A common, unifying core culture exists in the Indian subcontinent that operates implicitly and pre-dates the geographical borders of South Asian countries (Ibrahim et al., 1997). When India and Pakistan were officially created in 1947 after re-gaining independence from British colonization, the areas of Hindu majority became India, while the Muslim majority regions became Pakistan (Ibrahim et al.). Before such borders existed, the region of South Asia shared common values and beliefs that were recorded from 7,000 B.C. to present. This common way of life was heavily based on the Hindu worldview (Ibrahim et al.). A long history among the peoples inhabiting the Indian subcontinent explains why a shared underlying culture exists and cuts across nationalities, religions, and man-made geographical borders even today. According to Matsumoto (2000), culture is defined as:

> A dynamic system of rules, explicit and implicit, established by groups in order to ensure their survival, involving attitudes, values, beliefs, norms, and behaviours, shared by a group but harboured differently by each specific unit within the group, communicated across generations (p. 24)

There are a number of key aspects of cultural life distinguishing South Asians from the culture of the mainstream society in Canada. One of the foremost distinguishing values of the South Asian culture is its collectivist orientation. The welfare of the family is given primary importance. Individuals are expected to sacrifice their own personal desires to ensure the family's well-being when the two conflict with each other (Segal, 1991). One's sense of self is in relation to others in the family; pursuing individual goals and desires that do not benefit the family unit is perceived as selfish (Farver, Narang, et al., 2002; Segal). Interdependence between family members is encouraged, while the formation of a personal identity with separate, individual goals is suppressed (Ibrahim et al., 1997; Segal). The interdependence of family members is fostered throughout the lifespan; children are expected to continue to be socially and emotionally dependent on their parents as adults (Assanand et al., 1990; Segal). Family members also exert significant control over each other in all aspects of life. The distribution of power within the family is organized hierarchically because elders are respected and revered as authority figures (Ibrahim et al.; Segal). Thus, the idea of encouraging adolescents to become autonomous individuals is not a desirable goal for South Asians, because parents often perceive children's individuation as evidence of a loss of control over their children (Dosanjh & Ghuman, 1998).

In the realm of career choice, South Asian parents exert considerable influence in steering their children toward preferred careers (i.e., law, engineering, medicine) that will bolster the family's reputation amongst extended relatives and within the community (Lightbody & Nicholson, 1997; Segal, 1991; Sharma, 2000). South Asian parents hold expectations that a good education will bring benefits to the family, such as respect and recognition. South Asians also believe that part of their social and moral duty as parents is to foster educational achievement in their children (Lightbody & Nicholson). Research has demonstrated that South Asian parents apply substantial pressure to steer their children toward an acceptable career path (Lightbody & Nicholson; Sharma). When South Asian youth wish to pursue a career that is perceived by parents as being of lower status or not as prestigious, conflicts within the family often arise (Sharma). In this case, the parents may believe they are acting in their child's best interests by insisting on the choice of a professional career with a stable income (Lightbody & Nicholson; Sharma).

Almeida (1996) asserts that South Asians perceive marriage to be the most important transition in life, which is viewed as a joining of two families, as opposed to individuals. Marriage outside of one's religion, culture, and race is believed to threaten the family's reputation and cultural identity, and is strongly opposed by parents (Almeida). Since marriage is perceived to be the most important life decision, South Asians traditionally believe that it is best left up to one's parents, who have the life experience and knowledge of their children's personalities to choose a suitable spouse (Assanand et al., 1990; Segal, 1991; Sharma, 2000). Dating is not an acceptable practice in most South Asian families, particularly for girls, who bear the honour and respect of their families (Assanand et al.). Girls who date before marriage are traditionally perceived to be "loose", which also reflects negatively on their families' respectability within the community (Assanand et al.). Dating is a controversial issue for South Asians in Canada, although compromises have been made in some families to allow for supervised dating with a chaperone (Kurian & Ghosh, 1983; Wakil et al., 1981). Despite the types of compromises that some South Asian families are prepared to make with regard to dating and marriage, parents desire to have the final word in their children's choice of spouse (Wakil et al.). South Asians believe that it is their parental duty to guide their children to make wise decisions in all aspects of life, including career choice and mate selection (Lightbody & Nicholson, 1997). As a result, parents are heavily involved in their children's lives throughout the lifespan.

Non South Asians may perceive South Asian parents to be overly controlling in dictating the choice of spouse and career; however South Asian cultural values centre around the family system. Children are socialized from birth to fulfill parental expectations, because preserving the family's cultural identity takes higher priority than the child's personal growth or individual happiness (Almeida, 1996). South Asian children are socialized to obey their elders and to bring honour to their families through their accomplishments and good conduct (Segal, 1991). A child's actions reflect on the entire group, in keeping with South Asian perceptions of the self existing in the context of the family. Therefore, South Asians are very conscious that their own actions should bring honour, not shame, to themselves and their families (Segal).

Obligation and shame, the two concepts that pervade all significant relationships among South Asians, serve as motivating forces in preserving the collectivist orientation among South Asians (Segal, 1991). Family loyalty and a sense of duty toward one's parents and relatives feed into the perception that the self exists in relation to others. Conformity to cultural norms is usually enforced at home, and once children become adolescents and young adults, guilt, shame, and moral obligation are used by parents as tools for regulating behaviour (Segal). This method of psychological control functions by instilling a core belief in the importance of adherence to cultural norms and to family obligations, and feelings of shame and selfishness when one rebels against them (Segal). These norms focus on the areas of conservative styles of dress, interaction patterns with other South Asians, mate selection and marriage, and religious and traditional customs (Almeida, 1996; Ghuman, 1994; Wakil et al., 1981).

The South Asian family structure is traditionally organized according to clearly defined gender roles (Assanand et al., 1990; Segal, 1991). The man's primary function in the family is to serve as the provider and to make the major decisions in the household, while the woman's role is that of nurturer, mother, and caretaker (Assanand et al.).

While it may appear as if gender inequality exists, South Asian families operate on the belief that men and women have two separate, yet complementary functions in life (Carolan, Bagherinia, Juhari, Himelright, & Mouton-Sanders, 2000). The concept of gender equity recognizes that women and men should each be appreciated and respected for their separate life roles (Carolan et al.). Within the South Asian family structure, mothers are revered in the household, due to religious teachings in Islam and Hinduism that emphasize this honoured status as nurturer and caretaker (Assanand et al.). South Asian girls tend to be protected and sheltered by family members. They often have greater restrictions placed on their freedom than boys, because of their honoured role in society and in the family (Assanand et al.). There is a great deal of variability in the degree to which South Asian families adhere to the prescribed gender roles. For example, in dual career families, females may share power in decision making with their spouses and may attain equal status (Almeida, 1996).

Immigration History of South Asians

South Asians have been immigrating to Canada for many years, bringing with them their unique cultural values and traditions. To understand the cultural adaptation process of South Asian immigrants to Canada, it is necessary to examine the circumstances surrounding immigration and the experiences of both early and recent newcomers in the host country (Wakil et al., 1981). The experiences of early South Asian settlers in Canada may play a significant role in determining recent South Asian immigrants' attitudes toward cultural change, and the ways in which they choose to raise their children in Canada (Wakil et al.). This section provides background information on conditions in South Asian countries and reasons for choosing to immigrate to Canada among both early and recent immigrants. The historical context of immigration laws and experiences of early South Asian newcomers are also discussed.

The earliest South Asian immigrants to Canada originated from the Punjab area of India, and were Sikh sojourners who flocked to British Columbia to work as labourers (Walton-Roberts, 2003). Due to British colonialism in India, the agricultural economy in Punjab had undergone vast transformation (Walton-Roberts). Furthermore, beginning in the early 1900s, rising Indian nationalism and political dissent in British controlled India created unease among many South Asians in the Punjab region (Buchignani, Indra, & Srivastiva, 1985). As a result, thousands of young, Sikh males began to move overseas to find employment. This allowed them to improve their financial situation so that they could retain possession of their land in India (Walton-Roberts).

The first group of South Asian immigrants to Canada consisted of Sikh, Punjabi speaking males from India in 1904 (Buchignani et al., 1985; Wakil et al., 1981). The fiscal year from 1904 to 1905 recorded 45 immigrants from India who arrived in Vancouver, B.C. to seek employment in the lumber industry (Buchignani et al.; Wakil et al.). By 1908, this number had dramatically increased to 2,638 South Asian immigrants (Wakil et al.). Many Vancouver government officials began to panic in response to the exponential influx of new South Asian sojourners attracted by high wages in Canada (Buchignani et al.). While the earlier immigration of South Asian workers had not raised any significant concerns among the Caucasian inhabitants of British Columbia, the growing numbers and increasing immigrant population in Vancouver became threatening for residents (Buchignani et al.). During this time, South Asian males were portrayed as posing a safety risk to "White women", and tended to experience problems finding housing due to racist landlords (Buchignani et al.). Many South Asian workers were denied housing despite being able to pay for it, and 200 men were forced to sleep outside in Vancouver on a particular night in the early 1900s (Buchignani et al.).

Following anti-Oriental riots in Vancouver in 1907, the Asiatic Exclusion League was formed, which called for an immediate and complete ban on all Oriental immigration (Buchignani et al., 1985; Wakil et al., 1981). From 1909 to 1947, only 28 persons per year were permitted to enter Canada, due to immigration restrictions enforced by both the Dominion government and the British controlled Indian government (Wakil et al.). These immigration restrictions were severe, and consisted of a ban on all non-continuous voyages against immigrants from their countries of origin (Buchignani et al.). This legislation prevented South Asians from gaining entry into Canada, as travel from the Indian subcontinent always required stops in other countries (such as England) on the way. Therefore, it was only possible for South Asians to enter Canada as a third or fourth destination, which was prohibited at the time (Buchignani et al.). Due to such restrictive legislation, South Asian aspirations of beginning a new life in Canada for better educational and social opportunities were obstructed for years. This restriction also meant that South Asian workers wishing to stay in Canada would not be allowed to sponsor their wives and children to join them in Canada (Buchignani et al.). This policy threatened South Asian family life and the transmission of cultural values and traditions.

In 1951, a new limit of 150 newcomers was approved (Wakil et al., 1981). These policies still did not allow South Asians or other Oriental immigrants to bring their spouses and children to Canada; early immigrants were mostly males who were separated from their families for years (Wakil et al.). The Immigration Act of 1953 also granted clear preference to Caucasian immigrants; discriminatory immigration policies based on race, religion, or nationality were not eliminated until 1967 (Walton-Roberts, 2003).

The settlement process for the majority of South Asian immigrants who moved to Canada prior to the 1970s was quite unpleasant, despite their aspirations of a higher quality of life and financial security for their families. The hostile and discriminatory attitudes of many Canadians, coupled with the prejudicial immigration restrictions in effect for most of the 1900s made life quite difficult for newcomers (Wakil et al., 1981). The infamous deportation of 376 Indian South Asians arriving in Vancouver in 1914 on the Japanese steamer, "Komagata Maru", is now a well known historical example of the open hatred expressed by early British Columbians (Buchignani et al., 1985). Furthermore, Wakil et al. and Buchignani et al. cite that South Asians were not granted voting privileges in Canada until 1948, despite their designation as British subjects in India. In addition, immigrants faced wide spread barriers and prejudice in finding employment and housing (Wakil et al.). These early negative contact experiences contributed to self-consciousness of their ethnic minority status and insecurity in a Caucasian society that was unwelcoming, and who stereotyped them as "lazy", "immoral", "violent", and "biologically inferior" (Buchignani et al., Wakil et al.). These out-group threats also increased in-group solidarity and cultural maintenance among the South Asians (Wakil et al.).

A turning point in the immigration laws began in the 1960s, when changes to legislation included allowance for immigration based on skill and merit, rather than on country of origin (Buchignani et al., 1985; Wakil et al., 1981 Walton-Roberts, 2003). With the installation of a points system based on qualifications, South Asian immigration to Canada increased exponentially in the period from 1961 to 1971 (Buchignani et al.; Wakil et al.) Many of these newcomers included educated professionals who came to Canada as independent immigrants (Wakil et al.). The majority of these South Asian immigrants were familiar with Western values before arriving in Canada, due to their high educational level and wider exposure to urban lifestyles (Wakil et al.).

While the settlement experiences of early immigrants to Canada were quite negative, recent amendments to immigration laws and more welcoming attitudes by Canadians have facilitated an increased flow of migration. In recent years, heightened numbers of South Asian immigrants have been skilled workers who have chosen to move to Canada for economic reasons, because of perceptions that better job opportunities exist abroad. Walton-Roberts (2003) reported that many educated and qualified persons are unable to find suitable employment in India, because of widespread favourtism, corruption, and bribery. Many middle-class, professional Indians have therefore chosen to immigrate to Canada and other countries out of concern for the economic welfare of their families (Walton-Roberts).

Social factors are another predominant reason for South Asians selecting Canada as a preferred destination. Family members and friends who are already settled in Canada serve as important social support networks for the preservation of their cultural heritage, and are therefore important considerations for South Asians contemplating resettlement (Walton-Roberts, 2003). Thus, recent South Asian immigrants have been largely of a relatively high socioeconomic status, desiring to relocate permanently to Canada for economic and social opportunities that are not readily available in their home countries (Assanand et al., 1990). Unfortunately, many face unemployment or underemployment upon their arrival due to barriers to the recognition of their foreign qualifications (Reitz, 2001). A small number of South Asians, mostly from Sri Lanka and East Africa, have immigrated to Canada as political refugees (Assanand et al.). In contrast, the first influx of South Asians to this nation were largely sojourners who were seeking temporary residence in Canada to improve their financial situation in colonial India (Buchignani et al., 1985).

National Representation

South Asians are currently the second largest ethnic minority group in Canada after the Chinese (Statistics Canada, 2001). There are approximately 917, 075 South Asians currently in Canada, comprising 3.10% of Canada's overall population and 23.00% of the total visible minority population (Statistics Canada). Furthermore, South Asians are the fastest growing immigrant group in the nation, increasing at a rate of 37.00% during the five-year period from 1996 to 2001 alone (Statistics Canada). The Chinese, who are currently the most numerous immigrant group in Canada, increased at a rate of only 20.00% during the same five-year period (Statistics Canada). In addition, of the top ten countries serving as sources of new immigrants to Canada, India is ranked number two, while Pakistan is number four on this list (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2004). Finally, of the top ten overall Asian source countries for immigration, India maintains its number two slot, while Pakistan advances to number three, and Sri Lanka, to number six on the list (Citizenship and Immigration Canada). Taken together, these statistics highlight the strong, continuing trend of South Asians as the fastest growing immigrant group in Canada.

Canadian Multicultural Policy

The Canadian Multiculturalism Act embraces diversity by allowing immigrants of all origins the opportunity to retain their unique cultural heritage after relocation to Canada (Maton, 1995). This statute highlights multiculturalism as an essential characteristic of Canadian society and a key resource in guiding Canada's future (Maton). The policy also aims to cultivate appreciation for Canada's diverse cultures and to advance "the evolving expressions" of these cultures (Maton). Therefore, it provides South Asians with support for transferring some of their cultural customs into the Canadian context. By promoting the continued practice of one's heritage culture in Canada, as well as modification to traditional cultural life, Canadian Multicultural Policy takes an active stance in supporting cultural pluralism.

The Multiculturalism Act also encourages immigrants to embrace aspects of Canadian life, in addition to preserving their heritage culture, by integrating into Canadian society (Maton). To this end, the statute advances the right of immigrants to retain and use their native languages, but also highlights the importance of being committed to learning Canada's official languages (Maton). In addition, Canada's Multicultural Policy encourages immigrants to participate fully in Canadian social and cultural life as well as all other aspects of Canadian society (Maton). South Asian immigrants are therefore faced with the dual challenge of preserving their culture and accommodating a new one. Canada's Multicultural Policy is unique from that of other Western nations, such as the United States, because it promotes the retention of one's traditional cultural life, as well as the selective adoption of vital aspects of the Canadian way of life.

Acculturation

In adjusting to the duality of the home and host cultures, South Asian immigrants must make critical choices related to their cultural preferences. Berry (2001, 2003) conceptualizes acculturation as a process of cultural transition in which immigrants must make two related decisions regarding their heritage culture and that of the host country. First, immigrants must choose how much of their unique cultural identity and values to retain. Second, they must make a decision regarding how much they will interact with and adopt the values of the majority cultural group(s) (Berry). Berry conceptualizes acculturation as a multidimensional construct as opposed to a unilinear process in which individuals move from cultural traditionalism to assimilation into the dominant society. According to Berry, a multidimensional framework for acculturation involves decisions about cultural change in relation to both one's own group and to other groups. Attitudinal and behavioural changes with regard to acculturation can be expressed both in terms of the degree to which one chooses to maintain one's heritage culture, as well as one's preference for contact experiences and participation in the dominant society (Berry).

The possible outcomes of making these two decisions can yield four different acculturation strategies that immigrants use to respond to their home and host cultures. Assimilation occurs when one chooses to reject one's heritage cultural identity and chooses instead to fully identify with and adopt the culture of the dominant group (Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bujaki, 1989). In this case, the individual does not place any value in retaining the cultural practices and beliefs of the home country, but instead emphasizes the importance of becoming absorbed into the dominant society. By contrast, when an individual does not wish to become involved with the majority cultural group in the host society and instead chooses to fully maintain the traditional cultural identity, the separation acculturation strategy has been selected (Berry et al.). Individuals who choose this response to acculturation do not perceive any potential benefits from interacting with or participating fully in the dominant society. The third type of acculturation strategy is integration, which results when individuals place value on both the retention of the heritage cultural identity and practices, as well as the adoption of aspects of the host culture (Berry et al.). In this case, immigrants prefer to expand their perception of their cultural identities to include selective characteristics of the host culture in addition to those of their traditional ethnic backgrounds. The final type of acculturation strategy, marginalization, results when individuals are unable to relate to either the heritage culture or the dominant cultural group (Berry et al.). Marginalized immigrants are prone to experiencing alienation, identity confusion, or stress due to their inability to feel connected to either culture (Berry et al.).

While a large portion of acculturation strategy lies within the choice of individuals, Berry (2003) also argues that the preferences and attitudes of individual members of the host country and its national multicultural policy also exert a strong influence on immigrant acculturation strategies. For instance, a new immigrant who desires integration but who lives in a country with an assimilationist multicultural policy may not receive acceptance by the host society unless he or she chooses to reject the culture of origin. Similarly, immigrants who live in a country in which racial tensions are high may not be accepted even if they choose to assimilate or integrate, therefore their acculturation options may be restricted to separation or marginalization. Thus, acculturation is not only a multidimensional construct, but also one that involves a mutual and reciprocal experience shared by both immigrants and the societies to which they immigrate (Berry).

Kwak and Berry (2001) compared the acculturation strategies of South Asian immigrants to Canada with those of other Asian immigrant groups. South Asian parents and youth reported the greatest levels of maintenance of their traditional cultural values and behaviours after immigration. These values and behaviours encompassed family unity and collectivism, strong parental authority, heritage language use, interaction patterns, and traditional practices, such as arranged marriage. These patterns reflect the use of a separation strategy of acculturation. The findings of this study suggest that South Asians are likely to transfer their traditional culture into the Canadian context.

While there may be a trend toward cultural preservation among South Asians in a new geographic context, differences may exist in the extent to which individuals within a family choose to retain their heritage culture or adopt the dominant culture in Canada. Although South Asian adolescents in the Kwak and Berry (2001) study reported the greatest degree of cultural preservation compared to Vietnamese and Korean Asian groups, intergenerational differences between parent and adolescent attitudes toward cultural change emerged (Kwak & Berry). Youth are exposed to practices and beliefs of the majority culture to a greater degree than parents through their school experiences, which may result in the adoption of discrepant acculturation strategies among parents and adolescents (Baptiste, 1993). Several studies have found differential acculturation styles in South Asian parents and adolescents. A number of studies have found that parents tend to emphasize cultural maintenance and separation from the host society, while adolescents prefer integration of the home and host cultures (Hennink, Diamond, & Cooper, 1999; Segal, 1991; Talbani & Hasanali, 2000; Wakil et al., 1981). However, other studies have demonstrated that adolescents prefer separation from the host culture, while some parents have been found to prefer assimilation into the host society (Kwak & Berry). Hence, existing research has demonstrated discrepancies between parent and child acculturation preferences.

Despite the acculturation patterns described above, existing research suggests that South Asian parents may not necessarily have congruent acculturation styles, and nor may male and female adolescents. South Asian mothers' role as models of the heritage culture for their children may lead to higher heritage culture preferences and lower mainstream culture preferences, whereas fathers may have more opportunities for host society integration (Assanand et al., 1990, Carolan et al., 2000; Dion & Dion, 2001). Among youth, exposure to the host culture may give South Asian girls more freedom in interaction patterns, dating, etc. than their culture of origin, leading to higher mainstream culture preferences and lower heritage culture preferences than their male counterparts. Males tend to be less sheltered and accorded more power in South Asian families, leading them to prefer their heritage culture (Dion & Dion; Ghuman, 1994; Inman, Ladany, Constantine, & Morano, 2001).

Ethnic Identity

A related concept to acculturation is ethnic identity. Ethnic identity is defined as one's perception of self as a member of a given ethnic group (Phinney, 2003). This construct is dynamic and multifaceted; it encompasses feelings about one's status as a minority group member and one's sense of belonging, attachment, and commitment to his or her ethnic group (Phinney). Identity formation is the central task of the stage of adolescence according to Erikson's (1963, 1968) theory of psychosocial development, making the goal of ethnic identity achievement particularly salient for minority youth. For immigrant adolescents, developing an ethnic identity requires exploration of one's cultural background, values, and behaviours and eventually making a commitment to a chosen cultural way of life. Exposure to the competing host culture's values and beliefs may make the ethnic identity development process more complicated for immigrant adolescents, especially when parents and peers exert opposing cultural pressures (Phinney).

Successful achievement of an identity also involves behavioural experimentation with different identities in various situations, which would refer to different cultural ways of behaving when attributed to immigrant adolescents (Phinney, 2003). In two seminal studies on South Asians, adolescents reported difficulties in identity formation due to the combination of exposure to host society values and their parents' enforcement of traditional cultural values in the home (Maira, 1996; Segal, 1991). Given South Asian parents' key roles in maintaining the family's culture and transmitting it to their children, parents may closely monitor adolescent ethnic identity development and view it as an important source of feedback about their parenting strategies (Dosanjh & Ghuman, 1998; Kurian & Ghosh, 1983). In light of South Asian fathers' primary role as disciplinarian in regulating adolescent cultural behaviour and mothers' more nurturing role in child-rearing (Carolan et al., 2000; Patel et al., 1996), adolescents' levels of ethnic identification may be influenced by parent gender, given the differential parenting roles that mothers and fathers play in the South Asian culture.

Parenting Stress

South Asian parents' experiences of parenting across two cultural worlds may be shaped by both their own acculturation and their adolescents' levels of ethnic identity development. Weak ethnic identity development among children may challenge parents' perceived authority and control over their children and their transmission of the family's cultural heritage (Kurian & Ghosh, 1983). Existing research has found South Asian parents' disapproval of their adolescents' ethnic behaviours/identity to be related to parents' reports of "discipline problems" among adolescents (Aycan & Kanugo, 1998; Wakil et al., 1981), as well as to heightened levels of family conflict (Farver, Narang, et al., 2002). These studies suggest the possibility of parenting stress in the new host society. If parents are open to the host culture as well as to retaining some of their own culture, parenting stress may be minimized (Aycan & Kanugo).

Parenting stress can be conceptualized broadly as tension experienced by a parent in various areas of parent-child interactions (Swearer, 2001). It has been noted that the parenting role and its related stressors are distinct from stress in other life domains (Sheras, Abidin, & Konold, 1998). Parenting stress is concerned with stressors present due to child factors, parent factors, interactions between parent and child, and parenting behaviours, which all operate in a reciprocal fashion over time to influence each other (Sheras et al.). From the immigrant perspective, when youth become immersed in the dominant culture of the new country to a greater level than their parents, the parents may feel that they are losing control of their children, contributing to experiences of parenting stress (Dosanjh & Ghuman, 1998; Farver, Narang, et al., 2002). They may perceive an interference in the transmission of their cultural value system to their children (Dosanjh & Ghuman).

Existing literature has identified the importance of cognitive appraisal in the onset and experience of psychosocial stress, which may relate to an individual's coping skills and perceived self-efficacy in handling life situations (Hiebert, 1988). Individuals with effective coping resources and high confidence in their abilities to manage life events may not experience taxing situations as stressful (Hiebert). Conversely, others may experience significant levels of stress if they do not perceive themselves as competent to cope with demands from the environment (Hiebert). Models of stress therefore emphasize the importance of one's subjective beliefs of his/her abilities to manage environmental demands, as opposed to an individual's actual coping skills (Hiebert).

From the parenting perspective, stressful parent-child interactions and issues related to discipline and acculturation strategy discrepancies among family members tend to occur on a daily basis over time, contributing to chronic stress in parents. Chronic strain models of stress propose that individual psychosocial functioning is best understood within a larger family or social context that surpasses the individual's coping skills (Dressler, 1985). Within this framework, parents who perceive themselves as possessing ineffective parenting skills may experience higher levels of stress during difficult interactions with their children than parents who view themselves as competent in their abilities to manage their children's behaviours.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this master's thesis is to investigate gender differences in acculturation and ethnic identity in South Asian families and to predict parenting stress based on parental acculturation and youth ethnic identity development. The research findings could facilitate the formulation of family counselling strategies specifically tailored for South Asians, which take into account family member's gender, generational status, acculturation preferences, ethnic identity, and stress level. These strategies could promote positive cultural adaptation among South Asian immigrant families in Canada.

Overview of Thesis

The chapter that follows reviews existing literature on acculturation patterns in South Asian families in more detail in the areas of cultural behaviours, values, and traditional customs, and research on ethnic identity development among South Asians. Gender of family member, generational status, and individual and family functioning are taken into account across the literature review. The literature review chapter closes with a statement of the problem and a delineation of the hypotheses of this study. The methods chapter follows, which describes the nature of the sample, recruitment and selection criteria for participants, measures used in the study, and the research procedure. The results chapter then addresses the types of data analyses conducted. Findings with respect to the hypotheses advanced regarding relationships between gender, acculturation, ethnic identity development, and parenting stress are also reported. The final chapter is the discussion section, which places the findings of this study in the context of existing research on South Asians. Practical applications of the information gained from this study are also explored in the discussion section.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Overview

This chapter presents an in-depth, study-by-study review of existing literature on the cultural adaptation process of South Asian families. The chapter begins by summarizing research on parental acculturation with respect to acculturation attitudes and parent gender as a variable in the acculturation process. It also presents research suggesting possible relationships between parent gender and adolescent ethnic identity development, and identifies potential contributions of parent acculturation and adolescent ethnic identity in parenting stress across two cultural worlds. The chapter then describes and evaluates literature on South Asian adolescent acculturation attitudes and on adolescent gender as an important variable in cultural adaptation. This section is followed by a discussion of literature comparing the acculturation challenges of first and second generation South Asian immigrant families. The literature review ends with a statement of the problem, in which the limitations of existing research in the area are described, followed by a delineation of the specific hypotheses advanced in this study.

Parent Acculturation in South Asian Families

While most South Asian parents tend to adopt selective behaviours and values characteristic of the host society, such as a strong focus on material success and academic achievement, they also appear to enforce traditional family values and behaviours, including obedience to one's elders, familial interdependence, arranged marriage, etc. (Ibrahim et al., 1997; Patel et al., 1996; Segal, 1991). Immigrant parents do not face the same degree of pressure to assimilate into the host culture as their children, who may struggle to gain peer acceptance, particularly when they begin formal schooling (Baptiste, 1993; Segal). However, immigrant parents are often faced with a complex set of acculturation related challenges, particularly in relation to their own individual acculturation status, their parenting practices, and overall family functioning (Farver, Narang, et al., 2002; Wakil et al., 1981).

Several studies have investigated South Asian parents' acculturation strategies within various domains of acculturation. In a qualitative study, Wakil et al. (1981) examined the values that Pakistani and Indian immigrant parents in Canada used to socialize their second generation adolescents in different aspects of cultural life. They found that South Asian adolescents were generally allowed freedom to choose their own career paths (Wakil et al.). This suggests that parents tended to allow their children increased autonomy in the realm of career decisions, in contrast to traditional ethnic beliefs of reliance on elders to decide what is best. However, South Asian parents continued to maintain traditional views in other domains of acculturation, such as adolescent dating and marriage. Wakil et al. found that most participants were reluctant to allow adolescents to date, particularly unsupervised, and insisted on being actively involved in decisions concerning their children's marriages. On the other hand, some parents were willing to compromise by allowing their child the freedom to accept or decline a proposed suitor for arranged marriage (Wakil et al.).

These results attest to South Asian parents' strong desires to retain their traditional dating and marriage practices, despite the small compromises they might make in allowing their children freedom of consent in arranged marriages. The combination of both subjective interviews and objective participant-observer methods for data collection, coupled with the average length of residence for participants, which was an average of 17 years, makes these findings particularly salient. On the other hand, the finding that South Asian parents allowed their children to follow their own career path conflicts with the results of previous research. Lightbody and Nicholson (1997) found that South Asian adolescents surveyed in Great Britain tended to report substantial parental pressure to choose careers that were perceived as more respectable, such as medicine or law. The discrepant findings between these two studies may be explained by the two different host countries the South Asians were residing in, Canada (Wakil et al., 1981) and Great Britain (Lightbody & Nicholson). Parents of South Asian youth residing in Great Britain may be more likely to encourage their children to pursue high status occupations as a means of increasing their credibility in the face of more blatant racism toward South Asians in the labour market in the United Kingdom.

Another study examined adolescent autonomy, dating/marriage practices, and behavioural norms as domains of acculturation among South Asian parents in Canada (Kurian & Ghosh, 1983). Similar to Wakil et al. (1981), Kurian and Ghosh found that parents were ambivalent regarding the issue of dating, particularly unsupervised intermingling of the sexes. However, most South Asian parents were more willing to compromise with arranged marriages, allowing for love marriages between their adolescent and another suitable South Asian, or an arranged marriage that had been consented to by the couple (Kurian & Ghosh). They also reported that parents were shifting their parenting practices away from authoritarian parent-child interactions to incorporate the use of praise and rewards as methods of discipline, as well as increased adolescent autonomy in decision making (Kurian & Ghosh). Furthermore, parents tended to encourage their children to celebrate Western holidays such as Christmas, Easter, Halloween, etc. to facilitate the adolescents' acceptance in mainstream society (Kurian & Ghosh).

A study by Bhadha (1999) compared parenting style and attitudes toward affiliation with other ethnic groups in 70 South Asian and 70 European American parents. In line with the findings of Kurian and Ghosh (1983), South Asian parents tended to endorse a bicultural parenting style that emphasized both authoritative and more traditional autocratic practices in socializing their adolescents (Bhadha). However, in the realm of affiliation with other ethnic groups, South Asian parents scored significantly lower than European American parents on a measure of orientation toward other cultural groups (Bhadha).

In other research, Kwak and Berry (2001) compared the acculturation strategies of Vietnamese, Korean, and South Asian immigrants in Canada across various domains of cultural life. Compared to other Asian immigrants, South Asian parents exerted the most parental control over their children, perceived the highest degree of child obligations toward them, and endorsed the lowest levels of child autonomy (Kwak & Berry). This finding contradicts those of Bhadha (1999), Kurian and Ghosh (1983), and Wakil et al. (1981), who noted the presence of increased authoritative parent-child interactions. It is possible that South Asian parents may have modified their parenting practices to some extent post migration, but retained enough of their traditional parenting beliefs to report significantly higher levels of authoritarian parenting beliefs than other Asian immigrants.

Kwak and Berry (2001) also examined parents' acculturation attitudes in various areas of cultural life (traditions, language use, and marriage). They found that South

Asian parents tended to prefer an integrated acculturation strategy in the domains of language use and cultural traditions (Kwak & Berry). This finding indicates that South Asian parents preferred to communicate in both their native language and English, as well as uphold traditions and celebrations from both their home and host cultures (Kwak & Berry). However, in the domain of marriage, South Asian parents were found to adopt a separation acculturation strategy, strongly favouring affiliation and marriage with others of their own ethnic group (Kwak & Berry). This finding concurs with previous research (Bhadha, 1999; Kurian & Ghosh, 1983; Wakil et al., 1981), which highlights the selective nature of acculturation among South Asian parents, particularly in the domain of affiliation with non South Asians. These results are particularly salient considering that Kwak and Berry reported an average length of residence of 20 years for the South Asian immigrants.

Overall, these studies suggest that South Asian parents cannot be categorized easily according to an overall acculturation strategy. It appears to be important to examine their heritage culture and mainstream culture preferences separately across a variety of domains of behaviour. Parents may be open to English language use, some modification of their parenting practices, etc., but in terms of traditional values, dating, marriage, and interaction patterns, they appear to show a trend toward cultural maintenance (Bhadha, 1999; Kurian & Ghosh, 1983; Kwak & Berry, 2001; Wakil et al., 1981). In further support of this position, Dion and Dion (2001) argued that immigrant families tend to reject adoption of Western behaviours that they perceive to be threatening to their core values, which typically centre around the importance of family relationships. Within-group affiliation and marriage is essential among South Asians, as marriage leads to procreation and ensures continuation of the family line, as well as transmission of the culture to future generations.

Acculturation and Parenting Stress

Transmission of the heritage culture to children is perceived to be the central life task of South Asian parents (Almeida, 1996; Assanand et al., 1990; Dion & Dion, 2001; Kurian & Ghosh, 1983). In Erikson's (1963, 1968) theory of psychosocial development, in the stage of mid-life, which corresponds to the life stage of most parents, the central developmental crisis is one of generativity versus stagnation. Generativity involves making a meaningful contribution to future generations. For parents, this contribution focuses on teaching their children essential cultural values and culturally appropriate behaviours to guide them throughout their lives. Therefore for South Asian parents, a key factor in evaluating their parenting ability is their children's ethnic identity and perceived attachment to their heritage culture (Dosanjh & Ghuman, 1998; Kurian & Ghosh; Segal, 1991; Wakil et al., 1981).

South Asian parents monitor their children's behaviour and try to promote culturally appropriate behaviours. Wakil et al. (1981) found that South Asian parents closely attend to adolescent behaviour and tend to experience resentment in reaction to their children's acculturation. Parents reported feeling alienated from their adolescents, who preferred to eat Western food, form friendships with non South Asians, speak English at home, and observe Western holidays more than their traditional ethnic celebrations (Wakil et al.). This finding appears to be particularly salient considering that the parents themselves had resided outside their home countries for an average of 20 years, yet reported feeling isolated from their more assimilated children. Another qualitative study by Kurian and Ghosh (1983) discovered that South Asian parents expressed worry about their adolescents losing their South Asian cultural values and becoming negatively influenced by Western behaviours and values. The parents in this study attempted to re-direct their children toward cultural maintenance when noticing signs of culture loss. Similarly, Segal (1991) found that a common perception among South Asian parents was that children may become "corrupted" by Western culture, lose their ethnic identity, and become disrespectful of their parents. Parents identified their key job as prevention of such negative outcomes through strict child-rearing.

An ethnographic study of South Asians in the United States attested to the parenting challenges that may occur as South Asian parents attempt to balance and negotiate the values of both their home and host cultures in their interactions with their children (Das & Kemp, 1997). Farver, Narang, et al. (2002) discovered that South Asian parents' ethnic identity scores were related to their adolescents' acculturation strategies and degree of ethnic identity development. Furthermore, they found that parents and adolescents reported lower levels of overall family conflict in cases where parents and adolescents held congruent acculturation styles, and higher family conflict in cases where adolescents did not conform to their parents' cultural expectations (Farver, Narang, et al.). This study suggests that adolescents' behaviours and ethnic identity formation may directly impact parenting experiences and parenting stress.

It is important to note that Farver, Narang, et al.'s (2002) findings are limited by the measure used to assess acculturation. Farver, Narang, et al. used a modified version of the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans II, which was originally developed for and standardized on the Mexican American population. The modifications made to this scale consisted solely of surface changes by replacing the term "Mexican American" in each question with "Asian Indian" (Farver, Narang, et al.). No modifications were made to the actual content of the scale to reflect the relevance and appropriateness of the items for the South Asian acculturation process. Nevertheless, Farver et al.'s results are also supported by Kurian and Ghosh (1983) and Wakil et al. (1981), whose qualitative analyses suggested that South Asian parents' psychological functioning and affect was influenced by their adolescents' behavioural preferences and ethnic identification.

In light of their unique challenge of parenting in two cultural worlds, it is logical that the acculturation status of South Asian parents may also affect their parenting experiences. Jain and Belsky (1997) conducted a study on the parenting experiences of Indian immigrant fathers in the U.S. Through direct observational methods, they discovered that fathers who were more acculturated into U.S. society were more actively involved in child-rearing, and experienced less difficulty in the parent-child interaction process.

Aycan and Kanugo (1998) also found that South Asian parents' acculturation status related to their parenting experiences. These researchers found that parents' acculturation strategies differentially related to their reports of child behaviour problems, ethnic identity development, and discipline, with those parents who integrated the home and host cultures reporting the least parenting difficulties. The results of Aycan and Kanugo seem particularly salient given that the study was conducted on South Asians in Canada and was methodologically strong. Sample recruitment proceeded through random selection, and participants resided in several geographic regions of Canada, including Western Canada, the Prairies, and Eastern Canada. The large sample size consisted of 558 respondents, with adequate representation across genders, South Asian subgroups (Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Christian), and age ranges among both parents and children. Paired with the other studies cited in this section, Aycan and Kanugo's research suggests that both parents' acculturation status and their children's ethnic identity development may be important factors in South Asian parents' parenting stress.

Acculturation and Parent Gender

Although the task of parenting is shared between mothers and fathers in the family oriented South Asian culture, it appears that parent gender may affect both parents' acculturation preferences as well as their children's ethnic identities. South Asian culture espouses the view of gender equity, as opposed to gender equality (Carolan et al., 2000). From the traditional South Asian perspective, males and females have different yet complementary life functions, with clearly defined gender roles (Almeida, 1996; Assanand et al., 1990; Carolan et al.; Segal, 1991). Women are traditionally responsible for household duties, taking on the function of caretaker and nurturer within the family, while men are the financial providers and the primary decision makers (Almeida; Assanand et al.; Tirone & Shaw, 1997). These roles are amplified when they become parents, with mothers and fathers playing different roles in their children's lives. Clearly defined and distinct gender roles may result in differing acculturation preferences among South Asian fathers and mothers, because each parent is responsible for a distinct aspect of child rearing.

A number of studies have examined the influence of gender on South Asian parents' acculturation strategies, parenting role, and parenting practices. Carolan et al.

(2000) conducted a qualitative study of 40 Muslims residing in the United States, and noted gender differences among parenting roles as a key emerging theme. They found that Muslim women held primary responsibility for socializing and disciplining young children. However, their husbands assumed a more active role in behaviour management and in shaping their children's religious and ethnic identities once the children began formal schooling (Carolan et al.). A particular strength of this study was the variability present in the sample demographics with respect to participants' age ranges, heritage countries, and educational level (Carolan et al.).

Wakil et al. (1981) also found differences in parenting roles among South Asian mothers and fathers. They discovered that mothers were the primary caretakers and decision makers for their children's needs (i.e., bedtimes, curfews, etc.), in accordance with traditional South Asian gender roles that promote the mother as being responsible for all domestic and household matters (Almeida, 1996; Assanand et al., 1990; Dion & Dion, 2001; Tirone & Shaw, 1997; Wakil et al.). They also found that mothers held more restrictive parenting beliefs than fathers with respect to dating, regardless of their child's gender (Wakil et al.). Since South Asian mothers are traditionally their children's caretakers and nurturers (Assanand et al.; Dion & Dion; Tirone & Shaw), they may be more protective of them than fathers. Mothers may perceive dating as a potential source of harm and moral corruption, and thus resist the idea of dating to protect their adolescents. Furthermore, mothers are traditionally responsible for teaching their children appropriate cultural behaviours and customs (Dion & Dion), suggesting that they may show stronger preferences for their heritage culture than fathers, who are expected to integrate into the host society and the world of work to provide for their families and promote their upward socioeconomic mobility (Almeida; Assanand et al.; Dion & Dion).

A study by Patel et al. (1996) also found a difference between Hindu fathers' and mothers' acculturation patterns and parenting roles. They found that fathers tended to be more open to Western culture than mothers in terms of interacting with non South Asians, speaking English in most contexts, etc. However, despite their own acculturation status, they tended to enforce traditional behaviour in their children. Fathers reported using more traditional parenting styles (i.e., using psychological control to regulate adolescent behaviour instead of reasoning) to encourage strongly valued South Asian characteristics (e.g., obedience, manners, etc.) in their adolescents. In contrast, mothers reported being more adaptable in terms of using Western authoritative parenting styles (Patel et al.).

Differing socialization practices for South Asian men and women may explain the above findings with respect to mothers' adaptability to Western parenting styles. In South Asian culture, women are traditionally socialized to be adaptable to changing situations and circumstances, because they join the husband's family after marriage (Patel et al., 1996). As a result, mothers may be more predisposed to adaptation to novel environments (such as the new host society), while at the same time attempting to transmit their culture (Patel et al.). Fathers, however, may perceive themselves as holding more responsibility for preserving their traditional cultural values, particularly in their daughters, despite their own behavioural preferences (Patel et al.).

In light of their different parenting roles and possibly different parenting approaches, fathers may have a greater impact on adolescents' ethnic identity development than mothers. Dosanjh and Ghuman (1998) investigated parenting practices among Indian mothers in Great Britain, and found that the mothers reported difficulty in disciplining and managing their children's behaviour. The mothers' reports indicated that they tended to perceive their children as disobedient and oppositional in their attempts to promote culturally appropriate behaviours (Dosanjh & Ghuman). Kurian and Ghosh (1983) conducted an interview study involving both South Asian mothers and fathers and their adolescents. Adolescents reported challenging their mothers' authority and expectations for cultural behaviours more often than their fathers' authority. The adolescents' reports were also corroborated by their parents. Similarly, Carolan et al. (2000) conducted a qualitative study of South Asian husbands' and wives' perspectives and family experiences. They found that husbands' more direct role in disciplining children and enforcing culturally appropriate behaviour versus wives' social modelling role was reported to relate to stronger religious and ethnic identity formation in children. The next section examines adolescent acculturation and cultural identity in more detail.

Adolescent Acculturation in South Asian Families

Adolescents from various minority groups are often exposed to competing behaviours and values within their home and school environments (Baptiste, 1993). The desire for social acceptance in mainstream society is relevant at all stages of human development, but is particularly salient during adolescence. South Asian adolescents in particular may face considerable psychological conflict as they struggle to resolve clashes between South Asian and Western values and behavioural norms. Adolescents who attempt to assimilate Western characteristics to gain social acceptance among their peers may be faced with resentment, parental pressure to conform to South Asian norms, and heightened family conflict at home (Farver, Narang, et al., 2002; Naidoo & Davis, 1988; Wakil et al., 1981). On the other hand, adolescents who conform fully to South Asian traditions and behaviours outside of the home may be faced with social rejection by their peers and isolation at school. Therefore, decisions about how much to identify with the heritage culture and how much to adopt the mainstream culture may be based on the relative costs and benefits to adolescents in the various contexts in which they are situated (Phinney, 2003; Segal, 1991).

A number of qualitative studies have investigated the acculturation styles of South Asian adolescents. Hennink et al. (1999) assessed the acculturation strategies of 36 South Asian girls in Great Britain via semi-structured interviews. They found that South Asian adolescent girls adopted a separated acculturation style in most areas of cultural life. In particular, the participants reported that their leisure time consisted mainly of watching South Asian films, attending religious classes, spending time with family members, and socializing with other South Asians (Hennink et al.). The participants reported that their affiliation preferences were influenced by their parents' disapproval of out-group friendships, as well as their own enhanced comfort level in relating to other South Asians (Hennink et al.). Within the domain of dating, some South Asian girls acknowledged having a boyfriend without their families' knowledge, due to the cultural stigma associated with pre-marital relationships and the shame that would reflect on their families as a result (Hennink et al.).

Although Hennink et al. (1999) reported that the adolescent girls were utilizing a separated acculturation strategy, their dating behaviours showed an openness to Western norms, making it important to examine their heritage culture and mainstream culture preferences and affiliations separately. The authors discovered that even the girls who had secret boyfriends were willing to sacrifice their relationship and accept an arranged marriage to spare their parents from potential shame (Hennink et al.). This reflects some initial opposition to heritage culture enforcement through dating, followed by behavioural compliance with parental pressure.

Another study by Basit (1997) examined attitudes toward cultural values among 24 Muslim adolescent girls in Great Britain. Through the use of semi-structured interviews, she found that while Muslim girls wished for less parental monitoring and control in their lives, they did not desire the same extent of freedom and independence that they perceived their Caucasian British peers to have (Basit). In addition, the girls reported that they adopted acculturation strategies that were congruent with those of their parents (Basit). Participants seemed to favour an integrated acculturation style, but they did not fit clearly into Berry's (2001, 2003) acculturation model. They voiced uncertainty about how to combine aspects of both their South Asian and British cultures effectively (Basit). These findings also suggest that when studying acculturation in South Asians, it may be most useful to examine their heritage and mainstream culture affiliations independently of their overall acculturation strategy in order to develop an accurate understanding of their cultural orientations. One strength of this study is the richness of information yielded by an interview methodology. However, Basit's research was focused only on Muslim girls in Great Britain between the ages of 15 and 16, and the applicability of her findings may be limited by South Asian subgroup, geography, and a restricted age range.

Wakil et al. (1981) found that Indian and Pakistani second generation adolescents in Canada tended to adopt an assimilation acculturation style in most domains of cultural life. Specifically, they found that adolescents felt frustrated for not being allowed more freedom to date and choose their own spouses (Wakil et al.). Furthermore, the adolescents in this study reported assimilation in several areas representative of acculturation, such as favouring friendships with Caucasians, preferring Western entertainment, speaking mainly in English, and preferring Western dress, food, and holidays (Wakil et al.). Overall, Wakil et al. concluded that South Asian adolescents were not as firm as their parents about retaining their heritage cultural practices and values, but generally wished to maintain aspects of their religion, language, values, and customs. The findings of this study once again highlight South Asian adolescents' unclear acculturation strategies. They appear to behave in ways characteristic of mainstream Canadian society, suggesting an assimilated acculturation strategy. However, the adolescents also reportedly seek to maintain some of their traditional South Asian practices, implying a desire for integration, supporting the duality of heritage and mainstream cultural identifications among this group.

Kurian and Ghosh (1983) investigated parent-adolescent relationships and acculturation processes in 30 South Asian families in Canada. Similar to findings from previously reviewed studies, interview data revealed that the adolescents desired increased freedom from parental control (Kurian & Ghosh). Adolescents also reported higher levels of oppositional-defiance toward their mothers as opposed to their fathers (Kurian & Ghosh). Furthermore, adolescent participants reported having more Caucasian friends than South Asian friends, and preferred to speak in English (Kurian & Ghosh). In contrast, when asked about placing their elders in senior's homes, all of the adolescents opposed this idea; the majority preferred their parents to live with them in the future (Kurian & Ghosh), endorsing the family orientation of their heritage culture.

The qualitative methodology used by Wakil et al. (1981) and Kurian and Ghosh (1983) yielded rich insight into the ambivalent negotiation that South Asian adolescents undergo as they attempt to resolve their attitudes toward their home and host cultures. In addition, this research was conducted in Canada and used more than one South Asian subgroup in its sample. However, both of these studies were undertaken over 20 years ago, and Canada's multicultural ethnic makeup and multicultural policy have changed substantially within this time. Increased openness to diversity and pluralistic faiths, traditions, and practices has facilitated the acceptance of ethnic minorities into mainstream Canadian society, without the need for immigrants to assimilate their behaviours fully. The gains made in these areas have since been somewhat reversed by the events of September 11th, which have increased interracial tensions, particularly toward Muslims as a South Asian subgroup. These societal changes complicate the process of acculturation and the decisions youth may make about their heritage and mainstream cultural preferences. Nonetheless, Wakil et al. and Kurian and Ghosh have noted important trends in the South Asian adolescent population that need to be followed up with more recent studies, taking into account the present sociopolitical climate.

In a series of focus groups with South Asian immigrant families in the United States, Segal (1991) found that adolescents resented the degree of parental control over their behaviours. Instead, they chose to behave freely according to Western norms outside of the home, perceiving a "power struggle" between themselves and their parents

(Segal). In general, South Asian adolescents understood their parents' traditional parenting practices as repressive to their autonomy, resulting in a lack of communication between parents and adolescents (Segal). Ironically, their parents' traditional parenting practices and enforcement of South Asian cultural values resulted in adolescents forming negative perceptions of their heritage culture and alienation from their parents (Segal). In addition, parents' high expectations for academic success resulted in adolescents with average achievement reporting low self-esteem and feelings of personal failure (Segal). Overall, the findings of this study indicate the powerful influence that parenting practices may have on adolescents' acculturation patterns. While Segal's research was undertaken on South Asians in the United States, her findings appear plausible when extrapolated to South Asians in Canada.

Quantitative studies have also examined the acculturation strategies of South Asian adolescents and their associated impacts. Shams (2001) compared the relationship between friendship preferences and loneliness in 651 South Asian and Caucasian British adolescents. The results demonstrated that South Asian adolescents held a significantly lower preference for forming friendships with peers from other ethnic groups, instead favouring friendships with other South Asians. Furthermore, South Asian adolescents reported significantly more feelings of loneliness than Caucasian adolescents in relation to their friendship preferences (Shams). The author concluded that South Asian adolescents' choices to seek out affiliation with others of their ethnic group suggested a sense of ethnic pride and self-identification, and that the heightened feelings of loneliness could be explained by higher levels of psychological distress identified among South Asians in previous literature (Shams). However, another possible explanation given

Great Britain's multicultural policy is that South Asian adolescents may desire mixed ethnic friendships, but experience societal prejudice or social rejection based on their ethnicity. In comparison, Caucasian adolescents are not likely to experience incidents of racism or prejudice due to their religion, cultural beliefs, or skin tone. Therefore, South Asian adolescents may tend to cluster together and prefer affiliation with other South Asians to gain a sense of belonging and affirmation.

One flaw of Shams' (2001) study is that a measure of perceived racism was not included. Such a measure may have controlled for the possibility that South Asian adolescents may desire mixed ethnic friendships, but perceive societal barriers to affiliation with other ethnic groups. This explanation would also take into account South Asian adolescents' elevated feelings of loneliness, which suggests a desire to reach out and build friendships that may be rejected by individuals from other ethnic groups.

Nonetheless, this study's findings indicate that South Asian adolescents prefer affiliation with others of their ethnic background, indicating a separated acculturation status in this domain. While this research was conducted on South Asians in Great Britain, who may face different acculturation challenges in the host society than South Asians in Canada, these results also concur with parents' acculturation preferences for their children in this domain. Studies reviewed earlier in this chapter discovered that South Asian parents tend to resist dating and marriage with non South Asians, and continue to enforce the traditional practice of arranged marriage (Hennink et al., 1999; Kurian & Ghosh, 1983; Kwak & Berry, 2001; Naidoo & Davis, 1988; Wakil et al., 1981). This suggests another alternative explanation for Shams' results; South Asian adolescents may choose to form friendships with other South Asians due to parental pressure, because parents may fear that their children will be negatively influenced by the behaviours and values of other ethnic groups (Kurian & Ghosh; Wakil et al.).

Kwak and Berry (2001) compared the acculturation strategies of South Asian families to Vietnamese and Korean families. The South Asian adolescents were found to favour an integrated acculturation strategy in the areas of language and maintenance of their cultural traditions (Kwak & Berry). However, they endorsed a separated acculturation strategy in the domain of marriage, which was congruent with that of their parents (Kwak & Berry). This finding lends further support to the need to examine the multifaceted nature of South Asian acculturation patterns, rather than only examining overall acculturation strategies assessing how the home and host cultures are combined. The greatest degree of intergenerational differences across the three Asian groups were among the South Asian parents and adolescents, which was accounted for by disagreements surrounding acculturation with respect to traditional Asian values (Kwak & Berry). However, while South Asian adolescents disagreed more with their parents regarding their autonomy, they continued to conform to South Asian behavioural norms and maintained stronger responsibilities toward their families than adolescents from other Asian groups (Kwak & Berry).

It is interesting to note that South Asian adolescents in this research appeared to endorse high levels of cultural maintenance of South Asian values and practices and reported less assimilationist behavioural tendencies in contrast to previous studies (i.e., Kurian & Ghosh, 1983; Segal, 1991; Wakil et al., 1981). However, Kwak and Berry's (2001) finding of heightened intergenerational conflict among South Asian parents and adolescents concurs with the results of other studies (e.g., Kurian & Ghosh; Segal; Wakil et al.). The degree of intergenerational difficulty in South Asian families compared to other Asian groups highlights the salience of this issue, particularly given their relatively higher level of cultural maintenance.

Farver, Narang, et al. (2002) found that South Asian adolescents tended to report higher self-esteem when they reported some connection to both the home and host cultures, or identified strongly with the mainstream culture. Individuals who have selectively adopted aspects of both Western and South Asian cultures may be better able to relate to both cultures and may be more successful in forming a healthy bicultural ethnic identity. Individuals who have fully identified themselves with Western culture are also likely to experience social acceptance by mainstream society and may have also committed to an American identity. Both of these acculturation patterns may be associated with healthy identity formation, as well as increased social acceptance by mainstream Western society, which may facilitate higher self-esteem.

The findings of Farver, Narang, et al. (2002) are similar to those of Krishnan and Berry (1992), who found that youth who showed some preference for both their home and host cultures reported lower acculturative stress. However, Farver, Narang, et al. also found that those who preferred the dominant culture reported as high self-esteem as those who were integrated. This association of mainstream cultural identification and self-esteem may be related to the level of perceived acceptance in the dominant society. Krishnan and Berry's study was conducted in Canada, while Farver, Narang, et al.'s research was carried out in the United States. Important differences exist between the United States' "melting pot" multicultural policy, which promotes culture shedding and assimilation, and Canada's "mosaic", which advocates biculturalism. It is possible that

Canada's openness to diversity and promotion of pluralism may facilitate social acceptance in the dominant society without the need or pressure to assimilate.

Acculturation and Adolescent Gender

Given the clearly defined gender roles prevalent in South Asian culture, it seems plausible that adolescent girls and boys may adopt different acculturation strategies based on their gender. A number of studies have investigated the relationship between acculturation patterns and adolescent gender among South Asians. Research by Ghuman (1994) demonstrated that while both boys and girls favoured an integrated acculturation style, South Asian adolescent boys were somewhat more traditional in their acculturation attitudes than girls. These gender differences suggest that girls may prefer integration because they have more to gain than boys in the way of increased independence and gender equality (Ghuman). The South Asian culture places more restrictions on the behaviour of girls, due to their role as protectors of family honour and future mothers, who will transmit cultural customs and traditional practices to their children (Almeida, 1996; Assanand et al., 1990; Dion & Dion, 2001). For male children, the South Asian culture offers high status and greater freedom than for females, as males' perceived role is to integrate into society to promote the upward socioeconomic mobility of the family (Almeida; Assanand et al.; Dion & Dion).

Interestingly in the Ghuman (1994) study, while South Asian adolescents tended to reject separation from the host country, they did not express desires to assimiliate, indicating strong preferences to retain their native language, religion, and ethnic names (Ghuman). The results of this study suggest that South Asian girls have been more effective than boys in balancing their participation in both cultures, possibly due to the potential benefits (Ghuman).

The findings of Ghuman (1994) are roughly in line with those of Krishnan and Berry (1992), who found that South Asian males tended to adopt more separated acculturation patterns, while females favoured integration. Although Ghuman's sample showed restriction in participant age ranges (all boys and girls were between the ages of 14 and 16), his study was conducted on South Asian adolescents in Canada, and matches the results of Krishnan and Berry. Despite this study's restricted sample, Ghuman has highlighted an important gender difference that needs further investigation.

Farver, Bhadha, and Narang (2002) also compared acculturation related gender differences among South Asian adolescents. In contrast to the findings of Ghuman (1994), they discovered that South Asian girls tended to report a lack of identification with either the heritage or the mainstream culture, while boys endorsed integration, combining aspects of both their home and host cultures (Farver, Bhadha, et al.). It is possible that South Asian adolescent females may react to opposing pressure from family members and their peers by pulling away from both South Asian and Western cultures. In contrast, South Asian boys are typically allowed more freedom and are subject to less parental monitoring; therefore, parents may not exert the same degree of pressure on their sons in response to Western behaviours and attitudes. Dion and Dion (2001) also reported that South Asian parents tend to have higher socialization expectations of their daughters. The greater the differences between the home and host cultures, the greater the amount of pressure parents may place on their daughters in response to a perceived threat to their core values (Dion & Dion). Recall that South Asian daughters are traditionally believed to be responsible for upholding their entire family's respectability within their community (Almeida, 1996; Assanand et al., 1990). Daughters' behaviours, therefore, are perceived as a reflection of their upbringing and their family's respectability.

The findings of Farver, Bhadha, et al. (2002) may be tempered by geography; their research was conducted in the United States, and the results may not be representative of South Asian adolescents' acculturation processes in Canada. Differing geographical make up, multicultural policies, and societal pressures unique to the United States may all act to influence boys' and girls' acculturation styles, which may not be applicable when extrapolated to a different country. Nevertheless, Farver, Bhadha, et al.'s results alert researchers to important possible trends regarding South Asian females.

Talbani and Hasanali (2000) specifically targeted the acculturation process in South Asian adolescent girls in Canada. Through the use of semi-structured interviews, they noted several emergent themes related to various domains of acculturation. The participants noted that a major issue for them was the amount of parental constraint placed on their freedom, particularly with respect to socializing with friends (Talbani & Hasanali). The girls also resented the idea of arranged marriages, due to their lack of choice in the matter, and confirmed the enormous pressures and tension they face, with respect to balancing their two cultures and fulfilling parental expectations of them (Talbani & Hasanali). Participants also reported that their desire to assimilate into the dominant Canadian society increased as they grew older, and once they received greater freedom by moving away from home for university (Talbani & Hasanali).

As per the findings of Segal (1991), the results of Talbani and Hasanali (2000) also suggest that an excessive degree of parental control ironically strengthens adolescents' rebellion and commitment to the host culture, while alienating them from their traditional ethnic practices and beliefs. The intense familial and peer pressure that South Asian girls face was also again highlighted by Talbani and Hasanali as a potential explanation for acculturation related gender differences among South Asian adolescents. The studies reviewed in this section appear to suggest that despite parental pressure (and possibly in reaction to it), girls may identify more strongly with the mainstream culture in most behavioural domains than boys, while preserving some key aspects of their heritage culture. In contrast, the advantages of the South Asian culture for boys suggests that boys may have a higher preference for their heritage culture than girls.

First Generation versus Second Generation South Asians

First and second generation immigrants, although from the same ethnic group, may face very different acculturation related challenges. Abouguendia and Noels (2001) compared acculturation and psychological adjustment in first and second generation South Asians in Canada. Using the Berry Acculturation Attitudes scale, the Hassles Inventory, and several other measures of mental health, Abouguendia and Noels assessed these variables in 40 first generation and 34 second generation South Asian university students. In comparison to first generation South Asians, second generation youth reported significantly higher levels of psychological distress in the form of depression and low self-esteem, which was found to be related to the degree of family hassles (Abouguendia & Noels). Second generation immigrants also reported more daily in-group hassles with other South Asians than first generation youth (Abouguendia &

Noels). In-group hassles included family conflicts about acculturation, parental perceptions of youth being too "Westernized", family pressures for cultural maintenance, and a perceived lack of acceptance by other members of one's ethnic group. No significant differences were found between first and second generation South Asians with respect to preferred acculturation strategies; integration was favoured, followed by marginalization, assimilation, and separation (Abouguendia & Noels).

This pattern of results was interpreted as youth alternating between feeling a sense of belonging to both cultures, and other times to neither culture, possibly suggesting experiences of prejudice and conflicting societal opinions of South Asians (Abouguendia & Noels, 2001). Interestingly, higher integration was related to less in-group and out-group hassles (racism, discrimination, and language barriers) only for first generation youth (Abouguendia & Noels). This pattern of findings suggest that second generation youth continue to experience acculturation challenges and family adaptation difficulties, which may be attributed to the heightened potential for differential cultural orientations when youth are Canadian born and parents are foreign born. These findings attest to the unique experiences of second generation South Asians compared to first generation youth. The results of Abouguendia and Noels indicate that second generation individuals appear to be subject to higher levels of acculturative stress and family tension, making them an important subgroup to study in relation to personal and family cultural adjustment.

Abouguendia and Noels (2001) present interesting results that are congruent with findings from previous research (e.g., Aycan & Kanugo, 1998). However, a flaw in their second generation sample was unequal gender representation, with the vast majority of second generation youth being female. It is possible that their findings may be mostly applicable to South Asian second generation females, and may not be representative of second generation males' experiences. Recall previously reviewed literature on the acculturation processes of South Asian adolescent girls, who reported high levels of family pressure to behave according to traditional gender roles, placing them at risk for marginalization from both their heritage and host cultures (Farver, Bhadha, et al., 2002; Talbani & Hasanali, 2000).

At present, it is unclear whether the findings of Abouguendia and Noels (2001) can be ascribed solely to generational status, or whether the disproportionate number of female participants may have affected these results. However, other researchers have also highlighted the importance of focusing on second generation South Asians' acculturation and ethnic identity development. Maira (1996) commented on the salience of gender role conflicts for second generation South Asians, particularly females, and the difficulty that girls born in Canada face in integrating opposing values of South Asian and Western cultures. For example, South Asian second generation females may experience pressure to be educated and have a career, yet continue to be obedient to their husbands and families when they have been raised in a country that permits a greater voice (Maira). A study by Mehta (1998) also noted that it is particularly crucial to examine the unique acculturation processes of second generation South Asians.

Statement of the Problem

South Asians are a geographically and religiously diverse group of people who share common cultural values, beliefs, and practices that bind them together. Their main traditional values centre around the importance of the family unit, emphasizing obedience to elders, affiliation with other South Asians, arranged marriage, familial interdependence throughout the lifespan, and cultivation of a sense of self that exists in relation to others (Segal, 1991). The literature review provided research based evidence of the continuing importance of these traditional South Asian values in families' acculturation processes, although family members' preferences for the heritage and mainstream cultures may vary with their gender, parenting role, and generational status.

Research findings on adolescent acculturation in South Asian families have been mixed, with some studies finding a tendency to integrate the home and host cultures, some finding stronger preferences for the heritage culture, and some finding alienation from both cultures. Furthermore, adolescents' orientations toward the home and host cultures seem to vary across domains of behaviour, such as dating, religious practices, language use, etc. Various patterns of gender differences in South Asian adolescents' acculturation attitudes have been noted, with a tendency for girls to prefer the mainstream culture and boys to prefer the heritage culture. This emerging pattern has been attributed to the greater freedom provided to females in mainstream society, and the greater status granted to males in the heritage culture (Almeida, 1996; Assanand et al., 1990; Dion & Dion, 2001; Ghuman, 1994).

Research findings on parental acculturation in South Asian families have also been varied, with some studies finding a tendency to integrate both cultures, others finding a strong tendency toward exclusive cultural maintenance, and a few studies finding parental assimilation. Similar to adolescent acculturation studies, parents' attitudes toward cultural change seem to vary with different domains of behaviour, tending to be most traditional in the area of dating and marriage. The existing studies suggested that South Asian mothers and fathers may have different cultural orientations based on their different parenting roles, with mothers possibly preferring the heritage culture more than fathers, and fathers possibly identifying more with mainstream culture. Mothers are regarded as key role models in the transmission of their cultural heritage to children, with fathers being the enforcers of discipline directed at culturally appropriate behaviours (Carolan et al., 2000; Dion & Dion, 2001). Existing studies have shown that youth show more oppositional-defiance toward mothers than fathers in transmission of cultural behaviours (Kurian & Ghosh, 1983), suggesting that adolescents paired with fathers may show higher levels of ethnic identification than those paired with their mothers.

Given South Asian parents' central task of transmitting the heritage culture to their children and the challenges of parenting in two cultures, the research reviewed suggested that parental acculturation and adolescents' ethnic identity development may be important predictors of parenting stress. No study has compared ethnic identity among youth paired with mothers and fathers nor attempted to identify predictors of parenting stress among South Asian families.

The majority of studies on acculturation have applied Berry's (2001, 2003) acculturation model, breaking down cultural orientations into integration, separation, marginalization, and assimilation strategies. The literature reviewed highlighted the fact that among South Asians, it appears to be important to consider their heritage and mainstream culture preferences separately across various domains of behaviour to understand their acculturation process, rather than focus on their overall acculturation strategy.

Many of the studies reviewed were conducted in Great Britain or the United States. The multicultural policies of these countries differ from that of Canada, and national policies have been found to influence the acculturation decisions of immigrants (Berry, 2001). The majority of Canadian studies on South Asian acculturation were qualitative studies and were conducted over 20 years ago, and the current sociopolitical climate may have led to changes in the acculturation patterns of South Asians. Finally, existing studies of South Asian families have focused on the first generation, despite the fact that second generation families appear to be most vulnerable to experiencing challenges in acculturation and family adaptation.

The purpose of this master's thesis is to examine gender differences in acculturation and ethnic identity among second generation South Asian families, as well as to examine predictors of parenting stress, making use of a measure of heritage and mainstream culture preferences that addresses various domains of behaviour. This study has four main hypotheses: (a) mothers will report stronger preferences for the heritage culture and weaker preferences for the mainstream culture than fathers, (b) adolescent boys will endorse stronger preferences for the heritage culture and weaker preferences for the mainstream culture than girls, (c) adolescents paired with fathers will report significantly higher levels of ethnic identity development than adolescents paired with mothers, and (d) parental acculturation in terms of heritage and mainstream cultural preferences and adolescent ethnic identity development will be significant predictors of parenting stress among both mothers and fathers.

The following chapter describes the methodology of this study. The criteria for participation in the study are first outlined, followed by a description of the recruitment strategies used. A demographic profile of participants is then presented, followed by information on the study measures and a description of the procedure for implementation of the study.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

This study aimed to contribute to existing literature on South Asian cultural transition processes in Canada by examining gender differences in acculturation and ethnic identity development, and by examining factors predictive of parenting stress. Relationships between South Asian parents' and adolescents' levels of acculturation, parenting stress, and adolescent ethnic identity development were investigated among second generation families. This chapter provides details on the research participants, including sampling and recruitment procedures, inclusionary and exclusionary criteria for study participation, and demographic characteristics of the sample. The measures used to assess acculturation, parenting stress, and ethnic identity are then described in detail, including the purpose of each measure, types of items, scoring procedures, and their psychometric properties. Finally, the procedure for study implementation is discussed, which provides details regarding instructions given to the participants, how and when informed consent was obtained, who administered the measures in the study, timing of the study tasks, and information on participant debriefing. Considerations regarding cultural sensitivity and appropriateness of the measures and study procedure for immigrant populations are also discussed throughout the chapter.

Participants

Study Criteria

There were four criteria for participation in this research: (a) the family is of South Asian heritage, (b) the participating parent was born in a South Asian country, (c) the adolescent in the family, between the ages of 12 and 18, was born in North America, and (d) the family intends to permanently reside in Canada. The first criterion of South Asian cultural heritage was established to maintain an inclusive stance in this study to ensure that participating families represented the various subgroups of South Asians currently in Canada, such as those of Indian, Pakistani, and East African background (Statistics Canada, 2001). As previously discussed, South Asians have a common cultural value system despite differences in countries of origin, regional subcultures, and language use (Ibrahim et al., 1997). The study focused on youth born in Canada whose parents were born abroad, because existing research on South Asian families has identified second generation families as those who are most likely to experience familial cultural adaptation challenges (Aycan & Kanugo, 1998; Farver, Narang, et al., 2002; Kwak & Berry, 2001; Segal, 1991). Permanent residence in Canada was set as an inclusionary criterion because families envisioning their future in Canada would be more likely to become immersed in Canadian society and to be committed to some level of cultural adaptation (Kwak & Berry).

Recruitment Strategies

South Asian parents and adolescents were recruited for study participation from two major Canadian cities: Edmonton and Vancouver. The researcher distributed study descriptions (See Appendix A) among members of her own Muslim South Asian community, or verbally communicated the content of these descriptions to personal acquaintances of South Asian heritage in Vancouver. Recruitment by the researcher occurred primarily through utilization of personal ties within her ethnic community, recruitment of acquaintances, and attendance at cultural events. Interested families provided their names and phone numbers to the researcher for the purposes of arranging a questionnaire completion time. The researcher conducted home visits or arranged an alternate private place that was convenient for the families (e.g., a quiet area of the public library) to complete the questionnaires.

A research assistant from another South Asian cultural group was hired to recruit participants and facilitate data collection in Edmonton. The research assistant was hired due to her extensive network of South Asian contacts from the Hindu, Sikh, and other Muslim communities. Her involvement facilitated additional sample recruitment after the researcher had exhausted her own network of potential participants in Vancouver.

The research assistant's first task was to distribute written study description handouts or to verbally communicate the content of the study description to South Asian acquaintances who might potentially participate in the study. This was accomplished primarily through the research assistant's personal ties with other South Asians and through attendance at various religious and cultural events in her temple of worship. The research assistant's second responsibility was to administer the study questionnaires, as she could provide first language assistance in completing the questionnaires if needed. Interested potential participants who met the inclusion criteria left their phone numbers with the research assistant, who later phoned them to arrange a convenient time and place to complete the questionnaires. The research assistant conducted home visits or arranged another convenient, private place to administer the questionnaires with participants (e.g., at their place of worship, etc.).

Both the researcher and research assistant allowed the sample to snowball, with participants referring other South Asian families they knew to the researcher and research assistant. Tran (1993) advocates the use of convenience sampling and snowball strategies to recruit participants from immigrant and refugee populations, which are difficult to access for research participation. Pernice (1994) notes that a major obstacle to obtaining the participation of immigrant groups in studies is their unfamiliarity with social science research. This can lead to mistrust among minority groups of providing personal information to a community or family outsider (Pernice). Several past studies involving South Asians have successfully utilized verbal communication among community members to recruit participants, in order to provide credibility to the research being conducted (Farver, Narang, et al., 2002; Kwak & Berry, 2001).

Participant Profile

Sixty second generation South Asian parent-adolescent dyads participated in this study (i.e., 120 individual participants). There were 33 (55.00%) matched gender dyads and 27 (45.00%) opposite gender dyads. Within the matched gender dyad type, 21 (35.00%) were mother-daughter pairs and 12 (20.00%) were father-son pairs. Within the opposite gender category, 14 (23.33%) were mother-son dyads and 13 (21.67%) were father-daughter dyads.

The participating families had immigrated to Canada from India (46.67%), Tanzania (20.00%), Kenya (13.33%), Uganda (10.00%), Pakistan (5.00%), and other regions of East Africa (5.00%). The majority of first generation parents were sponsored by family members to immigrate to Canada (58.33%), followed by those who had immigrated independently (40.00%), and those who entered Canada as refugees (1.67%). Parent participants had resided in Canada for an average of 26.07 years. The sample consisted of South Asian families of varied religions, including Muslim (46.67%), Hindu (43.33%), and Sikh (10.00%).

Among the 60 parent participants, 25 (41.67%) were male and 35 (58.33%) were female. Parents' mean age was 46.17 (*SD*= 5.15), and they had completed a mean of 15.57 years of education (see Table 1 for complete listing of parent demographics). Among the parent sample, 80.00% were employed full time, 8.33% held part time employment, 5.00% were unemployed, 3.33% were stay at home parents, and 3.33% were retired. Parent occupations varied, with the top three fields of employment being human resources (16.67%), trades (13.33%), and finance (11.67%) (see Table 2 for a complete breakdown by occupation). The majority of parents were currently married (91.67%), 6.67% were divorced or separated, and 1.67% were widowed. The average family size was 4.42 members.

Among the 60 adolescent participants, 33 (55.00%) were female and 27 (45.00%) were male. Adolescents' ages ranged from 12 to 18 years (*M*= 15.17, *SD*= 2.06). Levels of completed education ranged from 7 years to 15 years (*M*=10.67, *SD* =2.20).

Table 1

Parent Sample Demographics

Variable	Minimum	Maximum	*M*	*SD*
Age	36.00	63.00	46.17	5.15
Completed Education	9.00	25.00	15.57	3.20
Family Size	2.00	8.00	4.42	1.01
Number of Adolescents	1.00	2.00	1.52	.50
Number of Total Children	1.00	4.00	2.23	.72
Length of Residence	12.00	39.00	26.07	6.24

Table 2

Parent Sample Employment Characteristics

Occupation	Frequency	Percent
Human Resources	10.00	16.67
Trades	8.00	13.33
Finance	7.00	11.67
Not Applicable	7.00	11.67
Health Care	4.00	6.67
Self-Employed	4.00	6.67
Computers	3.00	5.00
Business (Executive)	3.00	5.00
No Response	3.00	5.00
Retail	2.00	3.33
Hotel/Travel Industry	2.00	3.33
Engineering	2.00	3.33
Mental Health	2.00	3.33
Real Estate	1.00	1.67
Legal	1.00	1.67
Scientific Research	1.00	1.67

Study Materials and Measures

In conducting cross-cultural research, it is imperative that the measures are psychometrically standardized for use on the particular ethnic minority group being studied (Matsumoto, 2000). Several researchers have highlighted the need to use instruments that have been shown to demonstrate cultural validity (Matsumoto; Pernice, 1994; Rogler, 1989). This is assessed by examining whether items on measures are culturally relevant for members of a particular ethnic group in relation to the variables that the instrument was initially designed to measure (Matsumoto; Pernice; Rogler). Instruments designed by Western researchers that are deemed to have adequate reliability and validity are usually limited by the culture of the norm group on which they were standardized (Matsumoto). Such instruments may not be sensitive measures for research conducted on ethnic minorities, and may yield invalid and inaccurate data due to cultural limitations inherent in the content or construction of the measure (Matsumoto; Pernice; Rogler). Matsumoto and Pernice both advocate the use of instruments that have been cross-validated on the population being studied to increase the probability of obtaining accurate data. Keeping this issue of cultural sensitivity in mind, the next few sections describing the main study materials and measures report the psychometric properties of instruments in previous studies conducted with South Asian samples when such data is available.

It is important to note that the materials and measures used in this study were all developed and completed in English; research has shown that South Asians tend to possess high levels of English fluency prior to immigration, due to a previous history of British colonization in South Asia (Farver, Narang, et al., 2002; Wakil et al., 1981). In addition, an assessment of the psychometric properties of each of the measures to be used in the study has revealed strong reliability and validity when administered in English to South Asian populations (Farver, Narang, et al.; Krawczyk & Ryder, 2005).

Informed Consent Form

Both South Asian parents and adolescents read and signed the research informed consent form prior to completing the study questionnaires (See Appendix B). The informed consent form explained that this research examines how much parents and teenagers value their own culture versus the Canadian way of life, how adolescents combine Canadian culture with that of their parents' home country, and how their gender affects their cultural views or experiences. The form also explained that the research was examining parents' challenge of raising their teenager in Canada. The informed consent form explained the voluntary nature of participation in this study, the time commitment involved, and issues of confidentiality and anonymity. Both parents and adolescents read and signed the consent forms. Parents' signatures were also solicited for adolescents' consent forms.

Demographics

Parent and adolescent demographic information was collected using the Family Information Form developed by the researcher (See Appendix C). The families provided information about their countries of origin, length of residence in Canada, family size, socioeconomic status (years of schooling and current employment), gender, and age.

Acculturation

To assess family acculturation patterns and gender differences, both parents and adolescents were asked to complete the Vancouver Index of Acculturation (VIA; Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000). This measure consists of 20 items that are designed to elicit attitudes toward key areas of cultural life relating to acculturation, such as values, maintenance of traditions, and social relationships. The 20 items are grouped under two subscales, the Heritage culture subscale and the Mainstream culture subscale. Each subscale consists of 10 items; the same items are used to separately assess heritage culture preferences and mainstream culture preferences. For example, the heritage culture item related to marriage is "I would be willing to marry a person from my heritage culture", and the mainstream culture item is "I would be willing to marry a North American person". Similarly, the heritage culture item related to friendship is "I am interested in having friends from my heritage culture", whereas the mainstream culture item is "I am interested in having North American friends" (Ryder et al.)

Prior to beginning the questionnaire, participants are instructed to think of their heritage culture as one that they had been raised in or that made up part of their ethnic background. After reading each statement, participants rate their agreement along a 9-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 9 (Strongly Agree). For the Mainstream subscale, participants imagine Canadian or North American culture as they respond to the items, rating their agreement along the same 9-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 9 (Strongly Agree).

The VIA yields two scores, one for the Heritage subscale and another for the Mainstream subscale, indicating preference for the heritage culture and preference for the mainstream culture. The Heritage subscale score is calculated by obtaining the mean of the odd-numbered items, while the Mainstream subscale score is derived by calculating the mean of the even-numbered items. The maximum mean score on each subscale is 9, whereas the minimum mean score is 1.

Mean item scores from the two subscales can be used to categorize respondents into one of four acculturation strategies according to Berry's model of acculturation (Berry, 2001, 2003). The four acculturation strategies are identified by the following profiles: Separation (high Heritage culture preference, low Mainstream culture preference), Integration (high Heritage culture preference, high Mainstream culture preference), Assimilation (low Heritage culture preference, high Mainstream culture preference), and Marginalization (low Heritage culture preference, low Mainstream culture preference). Hung (2003) used midpoint splits on the VIA mean item scores of the Heritage and Mainstream culture subscales to identify research participants' acculturation strategies. Mean item scores below or equal to 5 on either subscale were considered "low", whereas mean item scores greater than or equal to 6 were considered "high".

A study by Krawczyk and Ryder (2005) reported that the VIA has good internal consistency, yielding a Cronbach's Alpha of .90 for the Heritage subscale and .79 for the Mainstream subscale in a sample of South Asians. Factor analysis identified the Heritage and Mainstream subscales as representing two distinct domains of acculturation on the measure (Krawczyk & Ryder). Ryder et al. (2000) reported good concurrent validity of this measure, citing that the Heritage subscale score was negatively correlated with a measure of Western identification in an ethnically mixed sample that included South Asians. Conversely, the Mainstream subscale score in the ethnically mixed sample was positively correlated with scores on the measure of Western identification (Ryder et al.).

Ethnic Identity

To assess level of ethnic identity achievement, adolescents completed the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney, 1992). The MEIM conceptualizes identity development as a continuous variable, with higher scores indicating higher levels of identity achievement. It consists of 23 items addressing exploration of, experimentation with, and commitment to a personalized ethnic identity (Phinney). It is based on Erikson's (1963, 1968) model of identity development where identity formation is a gradual process involving self-examination. The MEIM broadly assesses aspects of ethnic identity that are universal across ethnic groups, such as a sense of affirmation of and belonging to one's own ethnic group (e.g., "I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group"), and exploration of one's ethnic heritage and commitment to achieving an ethnic identity (e.g., "in order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group") (Phinney).

Twenty of the items on the MEIM are rated along a 4-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 4 (Strongly Agree), with higher scores reflecting increased levels of identity achievement. Adolescents are first instructed to identify the ethnic group they belong to, and then proceed to rate their level of agreement with the 20 statements posed on the 4-point scale. The final three items ask the adolescent to identify their own ethnicity as well as those of their parents from a list of possible options. The MEIM yields a total score by reversing the negatively phrased items, summing across items, and obtaining the mean item score (Phinney, 1992). The maximum mean item score on the MEIM is 4 and the minimum mean item score is 1.

In a study examining ethnic identity achievement in second generation South Asian adolescents, Farver, Narang, et al. (2002) reported a Cronbach's Alpha for the MEIM of .80. Its concurrent validity is supported by significant positive correlations between ethnic identity scores and use of the separation and integration strategies of acculturation on independent measures of acculturation style (Farver, Narang, et al.).

Parenting Stress

To assess levels of parenting stress, parents completed the Incompetence/Guilt subscale of the Stress Index for Parents of Adolescents (SIPA; Sheras et al., 1998). The SIPA is a self-report measure consisting of 112 items that tap multidimensional aspects of parenting-related stress in the following areas: the adolescent domain, parent domain, adolescent-parent relationship domain, and life stressors. The Incompetence/Guilt subscale, grouped under the parent domain of the SIPA, consists of eight items that elicit self-evaluations of one's parenting ability and difficulty in regulating, influencing, and managing adolescent behaviour (e.g., "I feel that I am an excellent parent", "When I think about the kind of parent I am, I often feel guilty or bad about myself"). Parents are instructed to respond to the items by focusing on their adolescent who is participating in the study with them, and to circle the answer that best represents their opinion. Parents rate their agreement with each statement on a 5-point Likert scale (ranging from Strongly Disagree to Strongly Agree), with higher scores reflecting increased parenting stress (Swearer, 2001). The maximum score on the subscale is 40 and the minimum score is 8.

The internal consistency of the SIPA Incompetence/Guilt scale is very good; Cronbach's Alpha is .82. Test-retest reliability of all the subscales on the SIPA ranged between .74 to .91 (Sheras et al., 1998). Discriminant validity of the SIPA subscale is also reported to be strong, as parents with mental health problems have reported higher SIPA subscale scores than parents in non-clinical samples (Swearer, 2001). The multicultural standardization sample for the SIPA was composed of individuals from a diverse array of ethnic backgrounds, including participants of South Asian origin.

Procedure

Interested potential participants who met the study criteria were asked to provide their names and phone numbers to the research assistant or the researcher during the sample recruitment process. The potential participants received a follow-up phone call from the researcher/assistant to arrange a convenient and private time, date, and location for the family to complete the study questionnaires. Questionnaires were administered through home visits or in other private locations mutually negotiated by the researcher/assistant and the families (e.g., private rooms in temples or mosques, the public library, etc.). Parents and adolescents completed the questionnaires separately and concurrently in two different rooms or areas. The researcher/assistant first met with each parent and adolescent together to explain the consent forms verbally, including the purpose of the study, participant rights, and assurances of confidentiality and anonymity of responses. The researcher/assistant then asked each parent and adolescent to read the consent form and remained present to respond to questions from participants. Parents provided written consent for their own participation, as well as for their child, while adolescents gave written assent.

After the consent forms were signed, participants were again reminded that their responses would remain confidential. Both the adolescents and the parents were reassured that their individual responses would also remain confidential from each other, so that each party could respond freely without censoring their opinions. Past research on immigrants has demonstrated that many ethnic minority participants fear that others from their community will discover their responses (Pernice, 1994).

Before administering the study questionnaires, the researcher/assistant delivered a brief orientation to responding to Likert scale questionnaire items (See Appendix D). Research has shown a response bias in the use of self-report measures among immigrants who are unfamiliar with responding to Likert scale questionnaires (Matsumoto, 2000; Pernice, 1994; Tran, 1993). Specifically, Matsumoto has argued that members of diverse cultures may show different types of response sets; some may hesitate to use the extreme end points of scales due to a fear of "standing out", while others may be more inclined to use only the end points. Response sets may invalidate the collected data (Matsumoto). To control for this possibility, the researcher/assistant oriented the families to Likert scale items and possible response options through the use of sample items from each measure.

Each parent and adolescent was then asked to separate into two different rooms of the house or meeting location to complete the questionnaire measures. The researcher/assistant periodically moved back and forth between the two rooms to check on the participants and to respond to any questions. The ordering of all parent and adolescent measures were counterbalanced across participants to account for possible order effects. Approximately one hour was allotted for parent-adolescent dyads to complete the questionnaires, although most families appeared to finish easily within 30 minutes. Participants also completed the questionnaires individually as opposed to in groups, to avert the additional inconvenience of imposing a single questionnaire completion time and date on participating families with busy schedules. After the participants had completed the questionnaires, the researcher/assistant paid the parent-adolescent dyad 20 dollars (10 dollars each) as remuneration for study participation.

Ethical Issues

There were a number of ethical issues taken into account in planning all phases of this research. This study utilized a convenience sample recruited from the researcher/assistant's personal networks of South Asian contacts in their respective cultural communities. Since a large proportion of the sample consisted of individuals acquainted with the researcher/assistant, the issue of potential participants feeling obligated to participate was a concern to the researcher. The researcher/assistant respected individuals' rights for voluntary participation and freedom of consent by refraining from initiating further contact with individuals who did not indicate interest in participating in the research. The researcher/assistant did not initiate any follow-up contact with parents and/or adolescents who did not express an interest in study participation after learning about the nature of the study and their potential involvement. Furthermore, the parents and adolescents were not asked to explain or justify their reasons for declining participation. The right to voluntary participation was also addressed in the study's consent form, which explicitly stated that the parents and adolescents could cease their participation in the research at any time without any questions from the researcher/assistant.

To discourage some parents from coercing their adolescents into participating in the study, measures were taken by the researcher to protect the right to freedom of consent among adolescent participants. The study's consent form required both the parent's and adolescent's signatures in the case of adolescent participants. The requirement of adolescent written assent for involvement in this research study ensured that youth were permitted to exercise their own autonomous decisions regarding participation in the study. Parents who were interested in taking part in the research but who had adolescents who did not desire study participation were reminded by the researcher/assistant that adolescent decisions to not take part in the study would be fully respected.

Participants were remunerated 10 dollars each (20 dollars per dyad) to compensate them for their time and use of space in home visits. Ten dollars per participant was considered by the researcher to be large enough to provide adequate remuneration, yet too small to be considered an incentive for participation in the research. Due to a decline in socioeconomic status and underemployment following immigration, minimal compensation for participants' time commitment and use of space for home visits was necessary for this research study.

It was anticipated in advance that participants being asked to reflect on parenting challenges, cultural transition difficulties, and identity development issues might result in psychological distress among parent and adolescent participants. A list of low-cost or free counselling agencies (See Appendix E) was prepared in advance of study implementation to minimize the potential for psychological harm to occur in participants. The researcher/assistant made this list of counselling referrals available to any parents or adolescents who appeared distressed during questionnaire administration. These participants were asked if they would like to talk to someone about their concerns or obtain emotional support, and were then provided with a list of counselling agency contacts if they desired such assistance.

South Asian parents' and adolescents' questionnaire data was coded and scored by the researcher. A master list linking participant names to code numbers was created and stored in the researcher's locker at the University of Alberta, along with consent forms and questionnaire data. A separate list without names was used for data entry and statistical analysis to preserve participants' confidentiality and anonymity. The data collected from the South Asian families who participated in this study was used to conduct quantitative statistical analyses to answer the research questions posed in this study. The following chapter describes the details of how these analyses were conducted, as well as the major findings of this study.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Overview

The purpose of this study was to investigate relationships between parent and adolescent gender, acculturation, ethnic identity, and parenting stress among second generation South Asian families. It was hoped that identifying factors contributing to parenting stress and variability in acculturation styles would inform the development of family counselling strategies specifically tailored for second generation South Asian immigrants.

The study advanced four hypotheses. First, it was proposed that South Asian mothers would report stronger ties to their heritage culture and weaker preferences for adopting the mainstream culture than South Asian fathers. Second, it was hypothesized that male adolescents would report higher preferences for their heritage culture than female adolescents, who were expected to display stronger mainstream culture preferences. Third, it was predicted that adolescents paired with their fathers would report higher levels of ethnic identity development than adolescents paired with their mothers. Fourth, it was hypothesized that a combination of parents' degree of acculturation and their adolescents' levels of ethnic identity development would significantly predict both mothers' and fathers' parenting stress levels.

This chapter begins by providing descriptive information on the South Asian parents' and adolescents' preferences for the heritage and mainstream cultures as measured by their scores on the Vancouver Index of Acculturation (VIA; Ryder et al., 2000). It also summarizes their specific acculturation strategies, adolescents' ethnic identity development scores on the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney, 1992), and parenting stress scores on the Stress Index for Parents of Adolescents (SIPA; Sheras et al., 1998). Following this descriptive information, the specific hypotheses advanced in this thesis will be evaluated using Independent Samples *t* tests and Multiple Regression Analysis.

Descriptive Information

Vancouver Index of Acculturation Scores

Table 3 presents parent and adolescent VIA scores and their gender breakdown. South Asian parents' scores on the Heritage culture subscale of the VIA ranged from 4 to 9, with a mean item score of 7.32 (*SD* = 1.25), suggesting a strong preference for their home culture. To reiterate, the minimum and maximum scores on the VIA subscales are 1 and 9, respectively. On the Mainstream culture subscale, parents' scores on the VIA ranged from 2 to 8, with a mean item score of 6.05 (*SD* = 1.18), suggesting an openness to the host culture as well. The South Asian adolescent participants' scores on the VIA Heritage culture subscale ranged from 5 to 9, with a mean item score of 7.52 (*SD* = 0.95), suggesting a shared family preference for the heritage culture. On the Mainstream culture subscale, adolescent scores ranged from 4 to 9, with a mean item score of 7.10 (*SD* = 1.07), indicating a tendency towards biculturalism.

Parents were categorized into one of four acculturation strategies based on a combination of their Heritage and Mainstream culture mean item scores on the VIA. The Heritage subscale score is calculated by obtaining the mean of the odd-numbered items, while the Mainstream subscale score is derived by calculating the mean of the even-numbered items. The maximum mean item score on each subscale is 9, whereas the minimum mean item score is 1. The two mean item scores can be used to categorize respondents into one of Berry's four acculturation strategies (Berry, 2001, 2003).

Table 3

Parent and Adolescent Vancouver Index of Acculturation Scores

VIA subscale	*M*	*SD*
Heritage culture subscale		
Parents		
Fathers	6.94	1.47
Mothers	7.59	.99
Overall	7.32	1.25
Adolescents		
Boys	7.16	1.00
Girls	7.82	.80
Overall	7.52	.95
Mainstream culture subscale		
Parents		
Fathers	6.13	1.04
Mothers	5.99	1.29
Overall	6.05	1.18
Adolescents		
Boys	6.83	1.01
Girls	7.32	1.08
Overall	7.10	1.07

Of the 60 parents, 43 (71.67%) were classified as using an Integration strategy of acculturation, 12 (20.00%) were classified as using Separation, 4 (6.67%) were classified as using Assimilation, and 1 (1.67%) of parents in the sample was classified as being Marginalized. The adolescent participants were also categorized into acculturation strategies based on a combination of their Heritage and Mainstream culture mean item scores. While the parents' and adolescents' mean item scores on the VIA subscales appeared relatively similar, there were some differences in terms of how individual parents and adolescents combined their heritage and mainstream cultures in their acculturation strategy. For example, while 71.67% of parents utilized an Integration acculturation strategy, 90.00% (n= 54) of the adolescents were classified as using this strategy. Also, 4 (6.67%) adolescents were classified as using the Separation acculturation strategy compared to 20.00% of their parents. The remaining 2 adolescents (3.33%) were classified as using Assimilation.

Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure Scores

The 60 adolescent participants' MEIM scores ranged between 2 and 4. The minimum and maximum mean item scores on this measure are 1 and 4, respectively. The adolescents' Total Ethnic Identity mean item score was 3.18 (*SD* = .45). The average mean item score for the South Asian youth suggests a fairly well developed ethnic identity. It is also important to note that South Asian male and female adolescents' levels of total ethnic identity were almost equivalent (Boys *M* = 3.20, *SD* = .47 and Girls *M* = 3.17, *SD* = .44).

Table 4 shows the number of adolescents who identified their ethnicity and their parents' ethnicities by religious affiliation, heritage country, bicultural origin, etc. Of the

60 adolescents, 19 (31.67%) identified their ethnicity on the MEIM by religious affiliation (e.g., Muslim, Sikh, etc.), 16 (26.67%) by a hyphenated combination of the heritage and mainstream cultures (e.g., Hindu-Canadian, Indo-Canadian, etc.), 14 (23.33%) by their heritage country (e.g., Pakistani, East Indian, etc.), 6 (10.00%) by Other, 3 (5.00%) by Canadian, and 2 (3.33%) of the adolescents indicated a mixed ethnicity.

The adolescent participants also identified their parents' ethnic groups on the MEIM. While only 23.33% of the adolescents (n=14) identified their ethnicity by their heritage country, 55.00% of adolescents (n=33) indicated that their fathers identify their ethnic group membership by their heritage country (e.g., East Indian, East African, etc.). Similarly, 34 adolescents (56.67%) indicated that their mothers identify their ethnic group by their heritage country. Also, while 16 adolescents (26.67%) chose a hyphenated bicultural origin to identify their own ethnicity, only 7 (11.67%) identified their fathers in this way, and only 6 (10.00%) identified their mothers' ethnicity in this way.

Scores on the Stress Index for Parents of Adolescents

On the Incompetence/Guilt subscale of the SIPA, parenting stress total scores (calculated by summing across all 8 items) for the 60 parent participants ranged from 12 to 28, with a mean of 19.87 (*SD* = 3.58). Six parents (10.00% of the sample) reported clinically significant levels of parenting stress, which was indicated by scores that were greater than or equal to 26 out of a possible total of 40.

Table 4

Adolescent Ethnic Self-Identification and Perceived Parent Ethnic Identification (N=60)

MEIM mode of ethnic identification	*n*	%
Ethnic self-identification		
Religious affiliation	19	31.67
Heritage country	14	23.33
Hyphenated bicultural origin	16	26.67
Canadian	3	5.00
Other	8	13.33
Perceived parental ethnic identification		
Fathers		
Religious affiliation	14	23.33
Heritage country	33	55.00
Hyphenated bicultural origin	7	11.67
Canadian	1	1.67
Other	5	8.33
Mothers		
Religious affiliation	12	20.00
Heritage country	34	56.67
Hyphenated bicultural origin	6	10.00
Canadian	1	1.67
Other	7	11.67

Analysis Results

Gender Differences

Differences in South Asian mothers' and fathers' acculturation scores on the VIA were examined by using Independent Samples *t*-tests to evaluate hypothesis 1. Since there were unequal numbers of mothers and fathers in the study (25 fathers, 35 mothers), Levene's Test for Equality of Variances was used to confirm that the data met the *t*-test assumption of homogeneity of variance. Levene's corrected *t*-statistic was used when this requirement was not met.

In contrast to the study's hypothesis, no significant differences were observed between South Asian mothers' and fathers' scores on the Mainstream subscale of the VIA, $t(58)= .45$, $p = .66$. No significant differences were found upon comparison of mothers' and fathers' scores on the Heritage subscale of the VIA either, although the Levene's corrected value approached significance, $t(39)= -1.91$, $p = .06$, with mothers tending to report higher Heritage culture preferences.

Independent Samples *t*-tests were conducted to examine differences between South Asian adolescent males' and females' acculturation scores on the VIA in order to evaluate hypothesis 2. Since there were unequal numbers of male and female adolescents in the study (27 males, 33 females), Levene's Test for Equality of Variances was used to ensure that the data met the assumption of homogeneity of variance of the *t*-statistic. When this assumption was not met, Levene's corrected *t*-statistic was used.

Separate *t*-tests were performed to compare South Asian boys' and girls' scores on the Heritage and Mainstream subscales of the VIA. In contrast to the study hypothesis, South Asian male adolescents reported significantly lower Heritage culture preferences than their female counterparts, $t(58)= -2.82, p < .01$. There was no significant difference between male and female adolescents' preferences for the mainstream culture, $t(58)= -1.80, p =.08$.

An Independent Samples *t*-test was also used to evaluate hypothesis 3 by comparing the mean Total Ethnic Identity scores on the MEIM of adolescents paired with mothers versus those paired with fathers. In support of the study's hypothesis, the Levene's corrected *t*-value demonstrated that South Asian adolescents that were paired with mothers tended to report significantly lower Total Ethnic Identity mean scores on the MEIM than adolescents paired with fathers (mother-adolescent dyads $M= 3.07$, $SD= .34$ and father-adolescent dyads $M= 3.31$, $SD= .52$), $t(38)= -2.05, p < .05$.

Prediction of Parenting Stress

To evaluate hypothesis 4, Multiple Regression Analysis was used to predict South Asian parents' levels of parenting stress in terms of their scores on the Incompetence/Guilt subscale of the SIPA, based on a combination of their VIA acculturation scores and their adolescents' levels of ethnic identity development. Parents' VIA Heritage subscale scores, VIA Mainstream subscale scores, and their adolescents' MEIM Total Ethnic Identity scores were entered into the regression equation simultaneously. Separate analyses were conducted for fathers and mothers to examine contributing factors to parenting stress, as the literature on South Asian families suggests that parents play different roles in the parenting process and in the transmission of the heritage culture to their children.

As shown in Table 5, the Multiple Regression Analysis indicated that a combination of Heritage and Mainstream acculturation scores and adolescent ethnic identity scores significantly predicted parenting stress levels for fathers, *Multiple R*= .64, *F*(3, 21)= 4.86, $p < .05$. These variables accounted for 41.00% of the variance in South Asian fathers' parenting stress scores on the SIPA. The simple correlations between the variables were as follows: fathers' Heritage culture scores and total parenting stress ($r = .12, p = .56$), fathers' Mainstream culture scores and total parenting stress ($r = -.52, p < .01$), and adolescent Total Ethnic Identity and total parenting stress ($r = -.11, p = .60$). The only variable that accounted for unique variance in fathers' parenting stress scores was fathers' Mainstream subscale score on the VIA, *t*(24)= -3.62, $p < .01$. Fathers' levels of parenting stress were inversely related to their acculturation to the host culture in terms of VIA Mainstream scores.

Table 5

Summary of Simultaneous Multiple Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Parenting Stress in Fathers of South Asian Adolescents (N= 25)

Variable	*B*	*SE B*	β	*p*
Father VIA Mainstream subscale score	-2.347	.648	-.636	.002
Father VIA Heritage subscale score	.970	.482	.374	.057
Adolescent MEIM Total Ethnic Identity	-2.018	1.314	-.276	.140

Note. $R^2 = .410$; *F*(3, 21)= 4.86, $p < .05$.

A Multiple Regression Analysis conducted to predict parenting stress among South Asian mothers found that the three variables did not significantly predict mothers' stress levels, *Multiple R*= .26, *F*(3, 31)= .73, $p = .54$. The simple correlations between the variables were as follows: mothers' Heritage culture subscale and total parenting stress ($r = .01, p = .94$), mothers' Mainstream culture subscale and total parenting stress

($r = -.21, p = .22$), and adolescent Total Ethnic Identity and total parenting stress ($r = -.18, p = .31$). Interestingly, none of these variables were significantly correlated with mothers' parenting stress scores. Table 6 also shows that neither mothers' Mainstream subscale scores, Heritage subscale scores, or adolescents' ethnic identity scores explained the variance in mothers' parenting stress levels.

Table 6

Summary of Simultaneous Multiple Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Parenting Stress in Mothers of South Asian Adolescents (N=35)

Variable	*B*	*SE B*	β	*p*
Mother VIA Mainstream subscale score	-.460	.485	-.172	.350
Mother VIA Heritage subscale score	.206	.661	.059	.757
Adolescent MEIM Total Ethnic Identity	-1.639	1.972	-.162	.412

Note. $R^2 = .258$; $F(3, 31) = .73, p < .54$.

The next chapter will discuss the results of this research within the context of existing literature on South Asian immigrant families. The implications of this study for counselling practice will also be discussed, and directions for future research will be presented.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

Overview

This chapter will summarize and interpret the major findings of the study in relation to the hypotheses that were advanced. The results pertaining to parent and adolescent acculturation patterns, adolescent ethnic identity, and parenting stress among second generation South Asian families will be discussed within the context of existing literature. The implications for counselling South Asian families and assisting them with the process of cultural adaptation will also be addressed. Finally, the limitations of the current study and directions for future research will be discussed.

This study had four major findings: (a) no significant acculturation differences were observed between South Asian mothers and fathers, (b) adolescent girls held higher preferences for their heritage culture than boys, (c) adolescents paired with their fathers tended to be more ethnically identified than those paired with their mothers, and (d) a combination of fathers' acculturation preferences and adolescent ethnic identity development predicted fathers' levels of parenting stress, with fathers' mainstream culture preferences being the only variable that accounted for unique variance in parenting stress. Each of these findings will be discussed in turn.

Acculturation Differences between South Asian Mothers and Fathers

Previous literature has identified South Asian mothers as models of appropriate cultural behaviours and customs for their children (Assanand et al., 1990; Carolan et al., 2000; Dion & Dion, 2001). Extending from past research, the study's first hypothesis proposed that South Asian mothers would report stronger preferences for retaining their heritage culture and weaker preferences for adopting the mainstream culture than South Asian fathers, in keeping with their traditional parental gender role. No significant differences were found between the acculturation patterns of mothers and fathers in this study. However, the findings with respect to the heritage culture approached significance, with mothers reporting stronger ties to their heritage culture than fathers.

No other study has quantitatively examined the effects of gender in comparing acculturation patterns among South Asian mothers and fathers, making it difficult to speculate on possible parent gender trends. Qualitative research, however, has reported that South Asian mothers are more strict in opposing Western cultural influences in their adolescents than fathers, due to concerns of their children being "corrupted" (Kurian & Ghosh, 1983; Wakil et al., 1981). For example, mothers may fear that youth will begin dating, affiliate with non South Asians, begin to disrespect their elders by acquiring assertive behaviours, etc. From previous qualitative research and literature on the role of South Asian mothers in the parenting process, it seems logical that mothers would maintain stronger ties to their heritage South Asian culture than fathers, since they are socialized to perceive themselves as cultural guides for shaping their children's characters (Carolan et al., 2000; Dion & Dion, 2001).

Acculturation Differences between Adolescent Boys and Girls

One of the study's objectives was to examine the effects of gender on adolescent boys' and girls' acculturation patterns. It has been posited that girls may not identify with the South Asian culture and instead prefer the mainstream culture, due to double standards in child rearing. Girls tend to have significantly less freedom in interaction patterns and in social and cultural behaviour than their male siblings (Almeida, 1996;

Assanand et al., 1990; Kurian & Ghosh, 1983; Wakil et al., 1981). Therefore, it has been argued that girls may prefer the mainstream culture because it may afford them greater opportunities for increased freedom (Ghuman, 1994). In contrast to the study hypothesis, South Asian girls were found to hold significantly higher preferences for retaining their heritage culture than boys. Existing literature has identified South Asian boys as more traditional in their acculturation attitudes than girls, although integration has been favoured by both genders (Farver, Bhadha, et al., 2002; Ghuman; Krishnan & Berry, 1992). However, South Asian girls face more parental and societal pressure to uphold the practices and values of their heritage culture (Almeida; Assanand et al.; Dion & Dion, 2001; Talbani & Hasanali, 2000), which may explain these emerging findings. Increased parental and community pressure to conform to traditional gender role expectations may be a factor that is associated with girls' higher involvement in their heritage culture. No significant gender differences were observed upon examination of boys' and girls' attitudes toward mainstream Canadian culture, supporting the pattern of integration of the home and host cultures as the preferred acculturation strategy of the research participants. Other studies on South Asian populations have also found a tendency toward integration (Farver, Narang, et al., 2002; Ghuman; Krishnan & Berry).

South Asian Adolescent Ethnic Identity Development

South Asian adolescents paired with fathers reported higher levels of ethnic identity development than those paired with mothers, providing support for the study's third hypothesis. The South Asian culture ascribes clearly defined gender roles to males and females, espousing the view of gender equity, in which men and women have different yet complementary life roles (Almeida, 1996; Assanand et al., 1990; Carolan et al., 2000). Previous literature has identified South Asian mothers as primarily responsible for child rearing and shaping their children's character through modelling appropriate behaviour, nurturing, and socializing their children into the customs and practices of the heritage culture (Almeida; Assanand et al.; Carolan et al.; Dion & Dion, 2001; Wakil et al., 1981). The findings of Wakil et al. also suggested that South Asian mothers tend to place more restrictions on adolescents' behaviours than fathers, due to their worries of their children being corrupted by Western society.

In contrast to mothers' posited role in the child rearing process, previous research has found that South Asian fathers most often are responsible for regulating their children's behaviour through various traditional parenting practices, such as psychological control, and for enforcing traditional cultural behaviours and maternal restrictions on child behaviour (Carolan et al., 2000; Patel et al., 1996). Fathers have also been found to be instrumental in shaping their children's religious and ethnic identities, particularly after they begin formal schooling and are exposed to competing cultural influences (Carolan et al.). Kurian and Ghosh (1983) discovered that South Asian adolescents reported more oppositional-defiance toward their mothers than their fathers, suggesting that adolescents feel more comfortable challenging their mothers' authority with respect to behaving according to traditional South Asian norms.

Given the existing literature, it appears that parent gender may be an important factor in the shaping of adolescent ethnic identity development. South Asian adolescents paired with their fathers may tend to report stronger ethnic identities because it is the father's role to enforce their children's ties to their heritage culture by regulating and controlling their adolescents' behaviours. This finding represents a new contribution to existing literature, which has not previously compared differences in adolescent ethnic identity by parent gender.

Predictors of Parenting Stress in South Asian Families

As mentioned previously, South Asian mothers are expected to model and teach appropriate cultural behaviours while fathers are responsible for controlling and regulating adolescent behaviour (Assanand et al., 1990; Carolan et al., 2000). Since the transmission of the heritage culture is a primary task for South Asian parents, it can be assumed that parental acculturation in terms of their attitudes toward their heritage and mainstream cultures will likely play a role in their parenting practices. Therefore, it is logical that a combination of adolescent level of ethnic identity development and parents' acculturation in terms of parenting their children between two cultural worlds would be important predictors of parenting stress levels.

Partial support was provided for the study's fourth hypothesis, which proposed a combination of adolescent ethnic identity development and parental acculturation as predictors of parenting stress levels in South Asians. Surprisingly, this study found that parent acculturation and adolescent ethnic identity predicted 41.00% of the variance in parenting stress for South Asian fathers, but not mothers. In addition, the only variable that contributed unique variance in fathers' parenting stress levels was their degree of acculturation to the mainstream culture, with fathers reporting lower levels of parenting stress when they reported higher preferences for the mainstream culture. Neither adolescent ethnic identity development nor parental acculturation status were predictive of mothers' levels of parenting stress.

The differential finding for mothers and fathers attests to fathers' role in parenting in relation to cultural behaviour. It would make sense that as the regulators of child behaviour, fathers' level of acceptance and acculturation into mainstream ways would affect the process of parenting in two cultural worlds. Fathers who have assimilated or integrated into North American society may be less likely to report challenges in the parenting process (Farver, Narang, et al., 2002; Jain & Belsky, 1997). If parents are open to the host society culture, they may experience less pressure in the parenting process to protect against mainstream cultural influences on their children. Also, they may have acculturation strategies that are more congruent with those of their adolescents.

Farver, Narang, et al. (2002) found that South Asian parents whose acculturation styles were congruent with those of their adolescents tended to report lower levels of family conflict than parents who adopted discrepant acculturation strategies from their children. It seems logical that South Asian parents who adopt a more integrated or assimilated acculturation strategy, reflected by higher preferences on the Mainstream culture subscale of the VIA, would likely be more open to their children experimenting with different cultural behaviours. These parents may therefore perceive their adolescents' ties to the dominant culture as more normative than parents who choose to reject the mainstream society. Those parents who prefer only their heritage culture and reject the mainstream culture may panic when they notice their adolescents behaving according to Western cultural norms, which may be associated with an increase in their parenting stress, due to their need to successfully transmit their heritage culture to their children (Kurian & Ghosh, 1983; Wakil et al., 1981).

Acculturation and adolescent ethnic identity development did not significantly predict parenting stress among South Asian mothers. It is possible that other variables pertaining to child behaviour or the parent-child relationship may relate to South Asian mothers' experiences of parenting stress, given the differential role of mothers and fathers in South Asian families (Almeida, 1996; Assanand et al., 1990; Dion & Dion, 2001; Wakil et al., 1981). For example, the finding that adolescents show more oppositional-defiance to South Asian mothers than fathers (Kurian & Ghosh, 1983) suggests that children's externalizing behaviours or the degree of conflictual parent-child interactions may be more relevant to mothers' parenting stress than specific cultural or ethnic behaviours. Furthermore, since mothers tend to play a nurturing role in South Asian families (Assanand et al.; Dion & Dion), the level of cohesion in the parent-child relationship may also be an important factor in mothers' parenting experiences. If the father's role in the family is to shape their adolescents' religious and ethnic identities and regulate their behaviour (Carolan et al., 2000), then fathers' acculturation status and adolescent ethnic identity development would be more relevant predictors of their parenting stress than for mothers.

This finding adds to existing literature by highlighting the salience of parent gender when studying parenting stress. The results of this study emphasize the need to examine separately factors that contribute to the parenting experiences and challenges of South Asian mothers and fathers.

Implications of the Study

The results of this study indicate the salience of parent gender in understanding adolescent ethnic identity development and parenting stress in South Asian families, as well as the importance of an individual's gender in understanding acculturation patterns. Sharma (2000) found that many second generation South Asian families seek counselling for challenges related to the acculturation process, ethnic identity development, parenting stress, and family conflict. Other studies have also found that differences in gender socialization among children and different parental gender roles and experiences have prompted South Asians to seek external help from counsellors, despite strong cultural pressures to keep problems within the family (Assanand et al., 1990; Segal, 1991). When South Asian families are situated in a new cultural milieu, their usual strategies for resolving family problems and challenges may no longer work, leading them to reconsider outside intervention (Assanand et al.; Sharma).

In this study, adolescents paired with their mothers reported weaker ethnic identities than those paired with their fathers. Since the majority of families who participated in this study were two parent families, adolescents' differential endorsement of their ethnic heritage with mothers and fathers has important implications for both their own identity development and for family dynamics. Possible variation in adolescents' ethnic identification when in the presence of mothers and fathers may pose a challenge to developing a consolidated identity if adolescents do not have a clear internal sense of their values and beliefs or commitment to a specific culture or combination of cultures.

In Erikson's (1963, 1968) model of identity development, the mark of healthy identity achievement is a conscious internal commitment to a chosen way of being, with an assumption that behaviour will consistently reflect one's internal choice. In his seminal work, Okamura (1981) differentiated between the cognitive and structural aspects of ethnic identity. The cognitive aspect refers to one's own internal affiliation with the values, beliefs, and traditions of a particular culture or way of life, or of an integrated way of being. In contrast, the structural aspect of ethnicity focuses on the constraints placed upon one's external ethnic behaviours based on situational demands. Okamura postulated that in specific contexts, people tend to behave in ways that will minimize negative consequences for them and maximize positive reactions from others. In light of South Asian fathers' role in regulating adolescent behaviour and fathers' responses to movement away from appropriate cultural behaviours with various forms of control (Carolan, et al., 2000; Patel et al., 1996), youth may need to enforce their ethnic identities more strongly in their fathers' presence in order to minimize repercussions.

In order to minimize identity interference in their own psychological development, it would be important for adolescents to explore their internal cultural views to form a healthy ethnic sense of self. In discussing models of racial and cultural identity development, Sue and Sue (2003) suggest that counsellors need to facilitate discussions with ethnic minority youth about the aspects of the values, beliefs, and behaviours characteristic of their own culture and the host culture that fit for them, those that they do not identify with, and those that they are ambivalent about. Through this dialogue, counsellors can assist youth in slowly gaining clarity about their own cultural stance and views. They can work with adolescents to facilitate identity achievement by helping youth determine which aspects of each culture are consistent with their overall sense of self, future directions in life, etc. Counsellors can also be instrumental in assisting adolescents to make decisions about how their ethnic identities will impact their family life and their personal well-being, if their cultural stance differs from that of their parents. For example, it may be advantageous for adolescents to engage in some situational variation in their behaviours to maintain positive familial relationships (Segal, 1991). Damji, Clement, and Noels (1996) found that when paired with a strong internal commitment to a particular cultural way of being, situational variation in behaviour was not found to compromise ethnic identity or personal adjustment.

In relation to some aspects of ethnic identity and behaviour, such as marriage and mate selection, adolescents may decide to diverge from parental expectations despite the repercussions. In this case, counsellors can work with them to explore the pros and cons of conforming to cultural expectations at the expense of their personal happiness or well-being (Assanand et al., 1990; Segal, 1991; Sharma, 2000). In the collectivist South Asian culture, the potential for tension between individual and family desires and needs will always exist, especially when acculturation is taken into account (Segal).

Due to the collectivist nature of the South Asian culture, one cannot view adolescent ethnic identity development in isolation from family processes. Different patterns of ethnic identification of adolescents with mothers and fathers may prompt family or marital conflict. Since fathers are responsible for regulating youth behaviour (Carolan et al., 2000), if fathers detect adolescents' oppositional behaviour toward mothers attempting to emphasize cultural maintenance in their children, fathers may respond with anger and demand that their children conform to behaviour expectations. Mothers may also feel extremely insulted when adolescents oppose maternal cultural modelling but endorse their ethnic identity in the presence of fathers. This could be a source of both parent-child and marital conflict.

Cognitive-behavioural family interventions may assist South Asians in working through tension in parent-child or marital relations. South Asians have been found to be highly receptive to cognitive-behavioural interventions due to their short-term, problem-solving focus (Juthani, 2001; Sharma, 2000). Applied to this situation, counsellors can begin by examining each parent's beliefs and expectations regarding children's ethnic identity and behaviour, as well as their perceived parenting roles. Counsellors can then examine adolescents' views of each parent's role, expectations, and perceived impacts on their own behaviour. The counsellor can pay specific attention to how differences in family members' perceived roles and expectations impact family interactions, guiding the family through a collaborative process of re-negotiating behaviour expectations and consequences consistently across parents. Speigal (1982) asserted that cultural brokering can be used to externalize the blame from any individual family member for family problems to pave the way for effective problem-solving. Cultural brokering involves blaming family problems on the acculturation process and differential cultural experiences of parents and youth, thereby normalizing family conflicts in the transition to a new host society (Speigal).

Fathers' acculturation into the host society appeared to be an important factor related to parenting stress in this study. Fathers who had higher levels of openness to the mainstream culture reported lower parenting stress. Bemak, Chung, and Bornemann (1996) argue that one essential role of counsellors working with immigrant populations is that of a "cultural systems information guide". This role involves teaching them about host society values, behaviours, practices, and their possible impacts on one's self and one's family. It may be helpful for counsellors working with South Asian fathers to help them become familiar with behaviours expected of youth in the host society school system, in terms of language use, assertive expression, cross-cultural interaction, crossgender interaction, etc. These behavioural expectations for adolescents in contexts outside of the home will inevitably affect their ethnic behaviours and parental reactions. Since the South Asian culture is one that places a high value on education (Segal, 1991; Sharma, 2000), fathers may come to recognize that English language use and other behaviours mentioned above may facilitate their children's educational success, and therefore become somewhat open to the mainstream culture.

Limitations

Despite the merits of this research and its potential implications, the study contains a few shortcomings. The researcher/assistant recruited a non-random sample through personal contacts within their respective South Asian subgroups. This choice represents the study's delimitation, because the participants may not be representative of all South Asians. This was reflected in the sample demographics; a disproportionately high number of parents reported a higher than average socioeconomic status, based on their educational level and employment status. In addition, the majority of participants were East African Muslims and Hindus from India, had a long average length of residence in Canada, and tended to report an integrated acculturation strategy. The restricted variability within the sample poses limits to the generalization of the study's findings to all South Asian immigrants in Canada.

Despite this limitation to external validity, Pernice (1994) has advocated the use of convenience and snowball sampling when conducting research on immigrant groups, due to their unfamiliarity with social sciences research. Pernice discovered that many immigrants are inherently mistrustful of providing personal and family information to community outsiders. It is therefore necessary for researchers/assistants to hold a strong connection to the immigrant group being studied, in order to gain the group's trust and to establish credibility. Also, the South Asian community is one which places a strong emphasis on education and career development (Segal, 1991; Sharma, 2000), so a high socioeconomic status may not be atypical of community members and research samples (Kurian & Ghosh, 1983).

The use of self-report measures in this study is one of the limitations of this research. These instruments may involve an element of rater bias, in that some participants may choose to respond in a socially desirable manner. Given that the researcher, who is Muslim, and the research assistant, who is Hindu, recruited participants from their own respective South Asian sub groups, it is possible that some respondents may have felt self-conscious, thereby answering in a socially desirable manner. The South Asian culture emphasizes the practice of keeping one's personal matters private (Segal, 1991). Disclosure of the family's problems or issues to outsiders is highly stigmatized within South Asian culture, and is perceived as disgraceful to the entire family (Segal). Given that the study's measures assessed socioeconomic demographics and aspects of the parent-child relationship, it is possible that participants may have interpreted this type of information to be sensitive and personal. However, every effort was made to reassure participants of the confidentiality of their responses, and parents and adolescents completed their respective questionnaires separately, to provide further privacy from the pressure to respond according to the other's expectations.

A final limitation of this research is the modest sample size used in conducting the analyses. Given the close knit community and lack of familiarity with social sciences research, it was extremely difficult to obtain research participants, despite the researcher/assistant's community connections.

Directions for Future Research

The findings of the current study indicate that parent gender is a critical factor in the development of adolescent ethnic identity and in the identification of variables related to the experience of parenting stress in South Asians. Additionally, adolescent gender was found to be an important factor in understanding the differential acculturation patterns of South Asian boys and girls. Further research is needed with larger sample sizes to determine the factors that predict parenting stress in South Asian mothers. In addition, more research is also needed with larger sample sizes and more equal representation of both genders to compare the acculturation preferences of South Asian mothers versus fathers.

This research found that adolescents paired with their fathers reported higher levels of ethnic identity development than adolescents paired with mothers. In two parent families, youth are exposed to the parenting influences of both the mother and father simultaneously. Therefore, differential endorsement of ethnic identity with parents of different genders may fuel family or marital problems. Future research should examine how parental gender roles and different patterns of child ethnic behaviours jointly affect ethnic identity, parenting stress, and family interactions/conflict. In studying mothers' parenting stress, possible predictors for future research studies may include child oppositional-defiance, quality of parent-child relationships, and degree of conflictual parent-child interactions.

Since differences between mothers' and fathers' acculturation status in this study were approaching significance, future studies could also examine the effects of both parents' acculturation strategies on South Asian adolescents' ethnic identity development. In cases where mothers and fathers have adopted differing acculturation preferences, it would be important to investigate the effects of acculturation discrepancies between parents on adolescents, especially in light of mothers' and fathers' different parenting roles. These research directions would greatly enhance our understanding of the cultural adaptation and needs of South Asian families in Canada.

Summary and Conclusion

South Asians are the second largest visible minority group in Canada, and the fastest growing immigrant group (Statistics Canada, 2001). Their significant presence in Canadian society makes it extremely important to understand factors related to their cultural identification and adaptation, in order to promote their successful settlement, integration, and well-being. This study has contributed to existing knowledge on South Asian second generation families by uncovering relationships between adolescent gender and acculturation patterns, parent gender and adolescent ethnic identity, and has identified factors related to parenting stress. The study findings will assist counsellors to understand family dynamics among South Asians and to take these into account in the intervention process.

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APPENDIX A
(Study Description)

WHAT THIS STUDY IS ABOUT

My name is Aneesa Shariff, and I am a Master's student in the School of Education at the University of Alberta. I am working under Dr. Noorfarah Merali. I am doing a study to understand how parents' and teenagers' feelings about their culture affect their experiences in Canada. When parents are born and raised in other countries and their children are born in Canada, the parents and teenagers sometimes think differently about how much they should keep their own culture and how much they should become like other Canadians. I want to learn about the challenges parents face raising their children in a new society and about how teenagers combine Canadian culture and their own culture. I also want to learn how being male or female affects parents' and teenagers' cultural experiences in Canada. This study will help me to create special programs to help parents and teenagers understand each other better and to handle cultural differences in the family.

I am looking for parents who were born in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Kashmir, or East Africa. These countries have strong cultural and family values that parents may want to share with their children in Canada. To take part in the study, the teenagers in the family must be born in Canada or the United States. If you take part in the study, you will be asked to fill out a survey about how much you value your own culture and how much you value the Canadian way of life. Your parent or teenager will also be asked what he/she thinks about the two cultures. Parents will also be asked to fill out another short survey about the challenge of raising their child in Canada. Teenagers will fill out a different survey about how they combine Canadian culture with the culture of their parent's home country. It will take half an hour for the parents to finish their surveys and another half an hour for the teenagers to finish their surveys. Parents and teenagers will fill out the surveys separately. Teenagers' answers will not be shared with parents and parents' answers will not be shared with their teenagers because they are private.

If you want to take part in this study or have any questions, you can phone
_________________________ (South Asian research assistant) at
______________________________ (phone number) at ___________________
(community organization or immigration agency).

APPENDIX B
(Informed Consent Form)

AGREEMENT TO PARTICIPATE

When parents are born and raised in other countries and their children are born in Canada, the parents and teenagers sometimes think differently about how much they should keep their own culture and how much they should become like other Canadians. Aneesa Shariff is a Master's student at the University of Alberta, working under Dr. Noorfarah Merali. Aneesa is doing a study to understand how parents' and teenagers' feelings about their culture affect their experiences in Canada, as well as how being male or female affects parents' and teenagers' cultural experiences. This study will help Aneesa to create special programs to help parents and teenagers understand each other better and to handle cultural differences in the family. If I sign this form, I agree to take part in the study she is doing.

I know that if I take part in the study, I will be asked to fill out a form about my family background. Then, I will be asked to fill out a survey about how much I value my own culture and how much I value the Canadian way of life. Parents will also be asked to fill out another short survey about the challenge of raising their child in Canada. Teenagers will fill out a different survey about how they combine Canadian culture with the culture of their parent's home country. It will take about half an hour for me to finish filling out the surveys, and another half an hour for my parent or teenager to fill out the surveys. Parents and teenagers will fill out all the surveys separately. Teenagers' answers will not be shared with parents and parents' answers will not be shared with their teenagers. Someone who works with families from my culture will be there to help me fill out the surveys and will answer any of my questions. This person will keep all my answers to the surveys private and make sure my family is treated properly.

I know that it is up to me whether I want to be in this study or not, and that I can drop out of the study at any time without any questions or problems. My answers to the surveys will be private and nobody will know that they are mine after the study is over because the researcher (Aneesa Shariff) will take out my name and put a number on them.

If filling out the surveys make me think more about challenges me or my family are going through in Canada, I may feel some stress or worries. I know that I can get some help or support if I tell the person who is helping with the study what is happening or how I am feeling.

I have been told that when the study is done, the survey answers of all the people who took part will be put together as a group. Only the group results will be shared with other researchers in meetings or essays to help them understand families from different cultures. My own answers will not be shared with anyone.

I understand that if I have any questions or concerns about this study I can call Aneesa Shariff at (780) 492-5245. I can also call Aneesa's supervisor, Professor Noorfarah Merali at (780) 492-1158, or the head of her Department at the University, Linda McDonald at (780) 492-2389. This study has gone through the University of Alberta's committee that makes sure that research is done properly and that people who take part in a study are treated well. This committee is called the Faculties of Education and Extension Research Ethics Board. If I have any concerns about how this study is being done or about my rights as a person taking part in it, I can call the Chairperson or head of the committee at (780) 492-3751.

Name ______________________________ Signature ____________________________________
Parent's Signature (For Teenagers only) ____________________________________
Date ______________________________ Signature of the Researcher______________________

APPENDIX C

FAMILY INFORMATION FORM

Name: ______________________________

Age: ______

Sex- Please circle:

1 Male
2 Female

Marital Status- Please circle:

1 Married
2 Divorced/Separated
3 Widowed
4 Single

How long have you been living in Canada? ________________________

Which country are you from? __________________________________

What is your religion? ____

Immigration Status- please circle:

1 Independent
2 Family class
3 Refugee

How many years of school did you finish? (In your home country or in Canada) ____________

Job Status- please circle:
1 Working full time as:

____

2 Working part time as:

____

3 Unemployed
4 Student
5 Stay at home parent
6 Retired

Number of people in your family: _______
Number of children in the family: _______
Number of teenagers in the family: ______

Please write down the first and last name of your parent or teenager who is taking part in this study with you:

____

APPENDIX D
(Likert Scale Orientation)

LIKERT ORIENTATION: SAMPLE QUESTIONS AND EXPLANATIONS OF RESPONSE CHOICES

To help you get familiar with how to answer these surveys, we will go through a few sample questions from each of the surveys and explain how to answer them. Each question on the survey is phrased as a statement, and you will answer each of the questions by writing in a number from the scale that says how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

We will now go through the sample questions and ways of answering the questions. If you have any questions or are unsure of how to answer the questions at the end of this demonstration, then please feel free to ask.

Vancouver Index of Acculturation

Sample Question:

"I believe in the values of my heritage culture"

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
(SD) (D) (N/D) (A) (SA)

Each question, as you see in this sample question, is phrased as a statement in the VIA. Beside each question is a scale that goes from 1 to 9. 1 means "strongly disagree", 3 means "disagree", 5 means "neutral" or "depends", 7 means "agree", and 9 means "strongly agree". Numbers 2, 4, 6, and 8 are in between. To answer the question, you have to choose the number that best fits how much you agree or disagree with the statement.

For this particular question, if you choose to answer with a "9", that would mean that you strongly believe in the values of your heritage culture.

If you choose an "8", that means you really believe in almost all of your heritage culture's values.

If you choose a "7", that means you agree with the statement, and you believe in most of the values of your heritage culture, but don't believe in a few of them.

If you choose a "6", that means you kind of believe in the values of your heritage culture.

If you choose a "5", that means you either don't believe OR disbelieve in the values of your heritage culture (you're neutral), or that believing or not believing the values of your heritage culture depends on the situation.

If you choose a "4" that means that you kind of don't believe in the values of your heritage culture.

If you choose a "3", that you disagree with the statement, meaning that you do not believe in most of the values of your heritage culture, but maybe believe in a few of them.

If you choose a "2", that means you don't believe in almost all of the values of your heritage culture.

If you choose a "1", that means that you strongly disagree with the statement, meaning that you strongly do not believe in the values of your heritage culture.

MEIM (Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure)-Given to Teens Only

Sample Question:

"I like meeting and getting to know people of ethnic groups other than my own"

4: Strongly agree	**3: Somewhat agree**	**2: Somewhat disagree**	**1: Strongly disagree**

For this survey, the questions are phrased as statements that you either agree with or disagree with. For this example, if you choose to write in a "4", that means that you like hanging out mostly with Canadians who are from other cultures or religions that are not South Asian.

If you choose a "3", that means that you like hanging out with both South Asians or people from your own culture or religion and other Canadians who are not part of your religion or culture.

If you choose a "2", that means you like hanging out with South Asians or people from your own culture or religion more than you like hanging out with other Canadians who aren't part of your culture or religion.

If you choose a "1", that means you like hanging out mostly with other South Asians or people that are from the same culture or religion as you, and that you do not like hanging out much with other Canadians who aren't from your culture or religion.

"Questions about Parenting" Survey: Given to Parents Only

Sample Question:

"I feel that I am an excellent parent"

Strongly Disagree	**Disagree**	**Not Sure**	**Agree**	**Strongly Agree**
SD	**D**	**NS**	**A**	**SA**

In this survey, the questions are phrased as statements. Once again, you have to decide how much you agree or disagree with each statement and then circle the answer choice that fits best with your opinion. In this survey, there are no numbers to choose from, you simply circle the answer choice.

In this example, if you strongly agree with the statement that you believe you are an excellent parent, then simply circle the "SA" to indicate you Strongly Agree.

If you agree that you feel you are an excellent parent in general, then circle the "A", which stands for "Agree".

If you are not sure or uncertain whether you are an excellent parent, then circle the "NS", which stands for "Not Sure".

If you disagree with the statement and feel that you are not an excellent parent in general, then circle the "D", which stands for "Disagree".

If you strongly disagree with the statement and really do not believe that you are an excellent parent, then circle the "SD", which stands for "Strongly Disagree".

APPENDIX E

(Counselling Services Referral List)

Edmonton Counselling Services Contact List

- Cornerstone Counselling Society (counselling on a sliding scale, based on income level): 482-6215

- The Support Network Distress Line: 482-HELP (4357) 24 hours a day, 7 days a week

- The Support Network Walk-in counselling: 482-0198
  Free-counselling on a walk-in basis (1 hour session)
  301 – 11456 Jasper Avenue
  Hours: Monday – Tuesday – Wednesday 1pm – 8pm
  Thursday – 9am – 4pm
  Friday – 9am – noon

- www.YouthOne.com
  On-line peer support

- Information on referrals and community agencies: Dial 2-1-1

- Psychologists' Association of Alberta
  Will provide a referral to a licensed psychologist: 428-TALK (8255)

- Family Service Centre (through Catholic Social Services) – Counselling available at a low cost:
  SOUTH OFFICE
  8815 - 99 Street
  Phone: 432-1137

  CENTRAL OFFICE
  10709-105 Street
  Phone: 424-3545

  EAST OFFICE
  8212-118 Avenue
  Phone: 471-1122

- University of Alberta – Counselling Centre
  Counselling is available from September to April at a very low cost
  492-3746

- Your family physician can also assist you in finding help

Vancouver Counselling Services Contact List

- Family Services of Greater Vancouver (affordable counselling for families, individuals, and youth with services available in Hindi/Punjabi as well): 604-731-4951
- UBC Life and Career Centre (free counselling services provided by UBC Counselling Psychology graduate students, drop in services also available): 604-822-8585
- Oak Counselling Services (low cost counselling available, short waiting list): 604-266-5611
- Crisis Intervention and Suicide Prevention Centre of British Columbia (24 Hour Distress Line, call 604-872-3311)
- British Columbia Psychological Association (BCPA)
  Will provide a referral to a licensed psychologist: www.psychologists.bc.ca
- Your family physician can also assist you in finding help